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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

DAY PAROLE IN ALBERTA: AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED BENEFITS

by

© DOUGLAS R. HECKBERT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1976

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The Undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled DAY PAROLE IN ALBERTA: AN EXAMINATION OF SELECTED BENEFITS submitted by DOUGLAS R. HECKBERT in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of ARTS.

George Kupfer
Supervisor

James C. Hackler

Date October 19, 1976

ABSTRACT

Day Parole, also known as temporary absence or work release, is a correctional strategy whereby selected inmates are released daily from penal institutions to go to work or attend educational facilities in the free community. The prisoners usually return to the institution at the end of the day. This type of program represents an effort to operationalize the concept of Community Corrections by dealing with as many offenders as possible in the free community rather than in a prison.

This Study examines one such program in operation at Edmonton, Alberta from 1969 to 1974. After presenting the historical and legislative background from which this Day Parole Program developed, an extensive review of the literature is provided. Particular attention is paid to Day Parole/ Temporary Absence in the Canadian Provinces. It was found that very little information is readily available about Day Parole in Canada.

This Study examined Alberta's first Day Parole Program as it operated from the Belmont Rehabilitation Center at Edmonton. The selection process is described and analyzed. It was found that the officials involved in selecting men for Day Parole were in general agreement that Day Parole should be granted toward the end of the sentence. It was also found that a few institutional officials usually processed a few pieces of information in a few minutes to reach a decision as to who is a good candidate for Day Parole and who is not. Most officials felt a young offender who is "serious" and who had a job or school to go to was the best candidate. A sex offender or an inmate who was "not serious" would most likely be considered a poor candidate. The day-to-day routines involved in operating the Program are described. It was found that requirements for the smooth and efficient operation of a minimum security institution had a great deal of influence on the operation of the Day Parole Program.

A number of claims about the financial and employment benefits of being on Day Parole are tested. It was found that most Day Parolees saved their money for their release. There was very little money spent in restitution, personal debts or family support. It was also found that the few inmates who had fairly stable employment histories before going to prison usually retained their job on Day Parole and after Day Parole was over as well. The others, who often had unstable work histories, were more inclined to accept less rewarding jobs on Day Parole and to quit either before or immediately after the Day Parole period. From official records, data concerning age, race, sentence length, Day Parole length, use of Day Parole, earnings and termination are summarized, cross-tabulated and elaborated upon.

The review of the literature revealed many areas of the Day Parole experience have been neglected by previous writers and researchers. As a result, this Study explored the following areas: the Day Parolees' view of Day Parole, the employer's view of Day Parole, the response of the public to Day Parole and the strain of being on Day Parole. It was found that inmates see Day Parole as an acceptable way of temporarily relieving the pains of imprisonment as well as earning some money for when they are released. The employers see the Day Parole Program as a dependable source of unskilled labor. The general public knows very little about Day Parole but those persons who are in close contact with the Program or the men on Day Parole react neutrally or positively to it. There is quite a strain on the men who must daily go in and out of prison to the free community. The first few days are the most difficult. Most violations of Day Parole occur during the first quarter of the Day Parole period. During the middle part of Day Parole, the men shift quite easily into the role of the inmate and the role of the worker/student. The pressure is again strongly felt near the end of Day Parole.

The Program examined by this Study has since undergone major changes.

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CHAPTER I

THE PRESENT STUDY

PART I: Introduction to the Study

Day Parole, also known as temporary absence, work furlough or work release, is a "judicial or administrative disposition which authorizes a person who has been sentenced to a prison term to be released from confinement during working hours for the purpose of employment or training in the community" (MacDonald, 1968:506). The inmate returns to the institution during nonworking hours. An inmate on Day Parole is subject to the same working conditions and terms of employment as a free man doing the same job and, as a result, Day Parole differs significantly from hard labor, forced work gangs and prison industry systems.

This Study examines selected aspects of a Day Parole Program in the Province of Alberta, Canada. Chapter One outlines the Study and the historical and legislative context within which it operates. Chapter Two reviews the available literature and particular attention is paid to Day Parole and Temporary Absence Programs in Canada. Chapter Three provides a detailed description of Day Parole in Alberta, with special attention paid to the selection of men for Day Parole and the Administration of the Program. Chapter Four tests a number of claims made about the Program and provides a statistical analysis of Day Parole data. Chapter Five explores important issues about Day Parole that have been neglected by previous researchers.

Chapter Six summarizes the findings of this Study.

The examination of particular programs forces the researcher/reader to adopt a "micro" view of the subject matter. It is important, however, not to lose sight of the "macro" concerns, and with this in mind, the following discussion of the background to the Study is presented to indicate the historical and legislative framework within which the Program operates.

PART II: Background to the Study

Historical Developments

Corrections and the Criminal Justice System

Human societies have always encountered deviance on the part of some of their members and each society has undertaken a response to that deviance in an effort to preserve and perpetuate the established social order. For behavior that has been identified as "criminally" deviant the more complex societies have established a Criminal Justice System or other similarly termed organization to help achieve social control. As Chambliss (1969:2) notes, modern societies "have increasingly turned to the legal system in an effort to bring order out of chaos or to maintain stability in the face of dramatic changes in the fabric of society". In Canada as elsewhere in the Western world the contemporary Criminal Justice System incorporates the processes of criminal law enforcement, judicial administration and the administration of correctional policy; or stated more simply: Police, Courts and Corrections. In terms of its modern identity, Corrections is "systematically the end of the official Criminal Justice processes and humanistically the supposed beginning of behavioral change" (Goldfarb and Singer, 1973:9).

The study of the Sociology of Law alerts us to the broad relationships between society and that which the society holds to be legal, whether it be concerns of a micro nature such as the impact of parking regulations (Chambliss, 1966), or more macro concerns such as social change as a force promoting legal change (Dienes, 1970). By viewing law as a major source of social data the Criminal Justice System in general and Corrections in particular appear as social institutions reflecting the character of the times. As a result, Corrections is an extremely complex social setting featuring the interaction of formal legislation, administrative practices, operational policies and the divergent philosophies and perspectives of the people involved in the setting. If our concern lies with contemporary Corrections, as in the present Study, it is important to take a brief look at the history of Corrections and to trace some of the earlier responses to criminal behavior.

Johnson (1968:477-494) has compiled a concise history of Corrections, noting the American and British contributions to prison traditions. The early responses to criminal behavior took the form of vengeful retaliation, monetary compensation, capital and corporal punishment, whipping, exile, fines and transportation to penal colonies. "The medieval gaols served as detention facilities until punishment could be inflicted" (p. 477).

Johnson credits the widespread use of long-term imprisonment as a punishment itself to Philadelphia's Walnut Street

Jail in 1787. As a result of the Quaker influence at that time, the early American penal system became based on solitary confinement without labor, where total isolation, solitary reflection and religious instruction were seen as the principle means of achieving moral regeneration and preventing criminal contagion. Johnson concludes that by 1835 the Americans had established the first genuine penal system in the world and that by 1877, imprisonment in Britain had become the major penal tool.

Since then, amid widespread controversy over the "relative reformative value, expenses of construction and operation, and effects on prisoner's minds and bodies" (p. 487) the forms of confinement have expanded to include medium and minimum security facilities such as reformatories, training schools, houses of correction and other similarly termed institutions. Nevertheless, imprisonment has remained one of the primary societal responses to criminality.

Recent Trends in Corrections

The change in the form of societal response to criminal behavior from compensation to confinement is an example of what Fearn (1973:66) calls "the relationships between processes of social change and legal change" where changes in the legal order reflect changes in the social order. Chambliss (1969:5) observes that with the changes in the Western world in the past two hundred years, "the most significant changes occur in the institutionalized procedures and the institutionalized conceptions of the basic values of the legal order", not in the behavior prohibited or in the punishments applied. Compensation, one of the earlier forms of societal response to criminality, represents a relatively uncomplicated society's effort to achieve the goal of restoring a balance between the offender and the offended. On the other hand, our modern Criminal Justice System, with its comparatively recent emphasis on confinement, represents a complex society's attempt to meet the generally accepted but arbitrarily balanced goals of protecting the society, punishing the offender, deterring the offender and others,and rehabilitating the offender.

Despite our reliance on imprisonment, many researchers, relying as much as possible on empirical analyses rather than on impressionistic conclusions, indicate that imprisonment falls considerably short of meeting the goals of deterrence and rehabilitation (Glaser, 1964; Harlow, 1971; Robison and Smith, 1971; Cousineau and Veevers, 1972; Goldfarb and Singer, 1973; and Waller, 1974). Indeed, some observers indicate that imprisonment not only falls short of meeting these goals but actively interfers with their attainment (McKorkle and Korn, 1954; Sykes and Messinger, 1960; Clemmer, 1965; Zalba, 1967; MacDonald, 1968; and Waldo et al., 1973). Many persons, including penal reformers, social scientists, and prison administrators, are in general agreement that incarceration is of doubtful value as a deterrant and as a reforming influence on inmates.

One result has been "a trend which emphasizes alternatives to imprisonment, or where institutionalization is felt to be necessary, transitional programs in the community to facilitate reintegration (Harlow, 1971:1-2). This trend is popularly known as Community Corrections and is in essence a blurring of the sharp lines of jurisdiction that traditionally have existed between probation, imprisonment and parole. Community Corrections has become the label denoting society's effort to deal with its offenders, as much as possible, in the community at large rather than in the confines of a prison.

Harlow (1971:1-5) has identified two groups of Community Correction programs. One is the "intensive-intervention-instead-of-institutionalization" group for offenders who are being considered for institutional placement because it is felt they cannot be placed safely and effectively under ordinary probation supervision. These programs, such as intensive probation supervision, nonresidential attendance centers and residential group or foster homes, are designed to provide a continuum of alternatives between ordinary probation and prison. The second group of programs are provided at a point in the offender's sentence where he has served a portion of his term of imprisonment. The programs, such as pre-release orientation, half-way houses, community-based residential centers and day parole, are designed to ease the offender's transition from the prison community to the free community. These programs have become popularly known as graduated release programs and they blur the traditional boundaries between life in prison and life on the street (Doleschal, 1971).

Legislative Background: Canadian Correctional Laws

Many features of the Justice System in Canadian society are based on Anglo-American traditions and Corrections in Canada is no exception. The discussion so far has been based largely on these foreign developments and while the Criminal Justice Systems in Britain and the United States have exerted considerable influence on their Canadian counterpart, Corrections in Canada does have its own identity.

The British North American Act[1]

The British North American Act of 1867, a piece of British legislation that officially signalled the birth of the Canadian nation, distributed the areas of responsibility and powers deemed necessary for the survival of the new nation between the Federal and Provincial Governments. This Act also provides the basic legislative framework for the Criminal Law and Corrections in Canada. The Provincial Governments are responsible for the administration of criminal law[2] and provincial prisons[3], with the exception of sentences of imprisonment for more than two years. The Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction to legislate in the field of criminal law and procedure[4] as well as the provision of Correctional services to persons serving sentences in penitentiaries of more than two years.[5]

The Criminal Code of Canada[6]

The sentencing provisions of the Canadian Criminal Code play a major role in Canadian Corrections as it is these provisions that direct use of fines[7], imprisonment[8], conditional and absolute discharges[9], and probation orders[10]. The Criminal Code provisions dealing with specific forms of criminal behavior also deal with the penalty attached to that behavior. For example, in the case of fraud[11], an offender is liable to imprisonment for ten years.

The Prison and Reformatories Act[12]

Another important piece of legislation is the Prisons and Reformatories Act which among other things, deals with remission[13] and temporary absence[14].

The Parole Act[15]

The Parole Act deals with matters of full parole[16], day parole[17], and mandatory supervision[18].

Provincial Correctional Legislation

In addition to the above Federal legislation, each Province has a Corrections Act or other similar statute that deals generally with the administration of the criminal law and the provision of Correctional services through institutional, probation and community corrections organizations[19]. In reality, Canadian Corrections is a composite of thirteen Correctional systems. Each of the ten Provinces, and two Territories, plus the Federal Penitentiary and Parole services has their own legislative, regulatory, administrative and philosophic characteristics.

Trends in Canadian Corrections

The Use of Incarceration

The history of Corrections in Canada reveals we have always relied heavily on the use of prisons as a response to criminal and other deviant activity. Edmison (1965) reports that imprisonment was a well established practice by 1830. Probation existed first in Ontario in 1893 but it was not until the 1940's and 1950's that this practice became organized in most other Provinces (Madeley, 1965). The practice of granting parole did not begin until 1898 (Miller, 1965) and it is the expanded use of parole especially within the past two decades that has made it a noteworthy and controversial part of Corrections in Canada.

During the 1960's the Canadian inmate population remained relatively stable at approximately twenty thousand, with one-third incarcerated in penitentiaries operated by the Federal Government and two-thirds held in Provincial Correctional facilities (Cousineau and Veevers, 1972). Hogarth (1971) concluded that Canada relied more heavily on the use of prisons than any other Western nation. On a more recent note, Waller (1974:25) reports that:

> "In relation to the total number of persons convicted of indictable offences in Canada, prison sentences are used in about 40% and penitentiary for about 6% of all cases each year."

Wilde (1974) reports that forty per cent of Canada's convicted offenders are sentenced to prison: five per cent to Federal penitentiaries and thirty-five per cent to Provincial institutions. The remaining sixty per cent are either fined, placed on probation or discharged.

Alternatives to Imprisonment

Even though we have relied rather heavily on the use of imprisonment, the North American trend toward Community Corrections, with its blurring of the sharp lines of demarcation between probation, prison and parole, is firmly established in Canada. The historically sharp distinction between probation and imprisonment as a form of sentence no longer exists. The early use of suspended sentences and probation was severely restricted by the sentencing provisions of Criminal Code. Up to 1967, the use of probation was limited to those with no previous convictions; or if only one previous conviction it had to be more than five years old or for an offence not related in character to the present one[20]. These restrictions were relaxed in 1968[21]. The present legislation concerning probation eligibility requires only that where a minimum sentence is not prescribed the Court consider "the age and character of the accused, the nature of the offence, and the circumstances surrounding its commission" (Section 663(1)). The Courts now have much more descretion and fewer proscriptions when deciding who is to be placed on probation and who is to be sentenced to prison. Additional amendments to the Criminal Code[22] have provided the sentencing Court with a series of alternatives and intermittent imprisonment[24]. In addition to these alternatives to total incarceration the Courts can now combine probation and imprisonment by sentencing an offender to a period of incarceration to be followed by a period of probation not exceeding two years[25].

These changes represent efforts at the Federal level to deal with more offenders in the community by providing a number of alternatives to imprisonment.

The sentencing provisions of the Criminal Code do not, however, deal with intensive intervention services, which is central to the concept of Community Corrections. These matters are deemed to fall within the realm of the administration of justice, a Provincial responsibility. At this level, some Provinces, such as British Columbia, Ontario and Alberta have supplemented traditional correctional services provided by Probation and Parole Departments and Correctional Institutions with formally organized Community Corrections Departments. The particular responsibility of these Departments is to develop, encourage and coordinate community-based correctional activities such as hostels, group homes and other specially designed rehabilitation programs to deal with offenders in a fashion that seeks to accomplish the various goals of the Criminal Justice System without resorting to the use of imprisonment. The availability of such programs depends on the personnel, funds, and philosophies of private and public agencies concerned with Corrections, as well as the attitudes of the general public. Due to the comparative newness of Community Corrections in Canada we can expect the size and influence of this concept to be rather small at present compared to its potential role in the future.

Gradual Release

In addition to that part of Community Corrections featuring alternatives to imprisonment and intensive intervention programs, there also exists in Canada the graduated release phase. The general goal here is, according to Miller (1970) the re-integration of the offender into the community. Under existing Federal and Provincial legislation there are several mechanisms of release designed to assist the offender's return to the free community. These include the full parole, mandatory supervision, temporary absences and day parole. Each of these release procedures has distinctive features.

Full Parole is defined as "authority granted under this Act to an inmate to be at large during his term of imprisonment"[26]. An inmate is generally eligible for parole after he has served one-third of the term of imprisonment[27]. The effect of full parole[28] is that a parolee's entire term of imprisonment continues in force until it expires and he serves his sentence under supervision in the community rather than in prison.

Mandatory supervision[29], on the other hand, represents a form of parole whereby an inmate who has not been released on full parole during his term of imprisonment is released, as a result of remission, including earned remission[30], under supervision in the community. Mandatory supervision commences on the inmate's release and continues in effect for the duration of the remission, but only if it exceeds sixty days. Mandatory supervision, then, entails an inmate's release into the free community under supervision at the end of the required period of time in custody; and it remains in effect for the duration of the period of remission. Like full parole, mandatory supervision is the exclusive jurisdiction of the National Parole Board[31].

Temporary absences are administratively within the jurisdiction of those responsible for the administration of Provincial prisons [32]. Under Section 36 of the Prisons and Reformatories Act[33], designated Provincial Correctional officials have the authority to release a prisoner at any time during his period of imprisonment for an unlimited period. This may be for medical reasons and for a period up to fifteen days for humanitarian reasons, or to assist in the prisoner's rehabilitation. In addition some Provinces, such as Ontario, British Columbia and Saskatchewan, have supplemented this general power to temporarily release prisoners by proclaiming sections of their Provincial Corrections Acts. This authorizes designated officials to release prisoners to continue regular employment, obtain new employment or attend an academic or Vocational training institution. The general aim is "to provide a variety of alternative means whereby sentenced prisoners may be temporarily released from the institution in which they are confined" (Fox, 1971:51).

Day Parole is yet another release procedure. Authorized by the National Parole Board, day parole "means parole the terms and conditions of which require the inmate to whom it is granted to return to prison from time to time during the duration of such parole or to return to prison after a specified period"[34]. Day Parole can be granted at any time during a sentence of imprisonment and the day parolee is deemed to be serving his term of imprisonment in the prison from which he is released [35]. Miller (1970:520-521) lists three types of day parole:

> "1) Mid-sentence day parole will enable release for employment, attendance at educational institution, or other activities that have rehabilitative content,
>
> 2) Pre-release day parole will provide for a socialization experience which may include employment, etc., prior to release at expiry of sentence,
>
> 3) Gradual release will provide a socialization experience prior to release on full ordinary parole which will have already been granted either absolutely or in principle."

Canadian Research on Gradual Release

Empirical examination and analysis of the various parts of the Criminal Justice System in Canada is a growing concern. The scope of analysis varies widely from descriptive accounts to highly complicated and sophisticated research. In so far as full parole in Canada is concerned, Waller (1974), James (1971), Binnie (1974), Vichert and Zahnd (1965) are some researchers who have described and analysed this phase of Corrections. Mandatory supervision is one of Canada's most recent correctional strategies, but, like temporary absences and day parole, it has not received much attention from researchers.

In Alberta research relating to the Criminal Justice System in so far as adult offenders is concerned is limited. Some empirical work is available and the studies of Cockerill (1975), Matthews (1972), Hagan (1974) and Gillan (1976) are noteworthy. The present Study was undertaken with the intention of adding to this growing body of research dealing with Corrections in Alberta and Canada. In general, it is concerned with the Province of Alberta's first and largest Day Parole Program. This Study will not deal with Day Parole Programs in the Province operating from Correctional facilities administered by the Federal Government.

PART III: The Present Study

Introduction

The foregoing sections dealing with the background to the Study serve to place the Day Parole Program in question in a historical and legislative context reflecting some of the broad parameters within which it operates. This Study examines selected aspects of a Day Parole Program in operation at Edmonton, Alberta since 1969. This Program represents the combined efforts of the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution (henceforth to be referred to as the Institution or The Fort), the Belmont Rehabilitation Center (henceforth to be referred to as the Center) and the Edmonton Office of the National Parole Service.

Purpose

Describing

The purpose of the Study is three-fold. First, the Study will provide a description of the Program. In this account attention will be paid to the formal organization of the agencies involved, their personnel, the operative policies of each part of the Program, the various philosophies and perspectives of those involved and a general review of the day-to-day operation of the Program. Such a description is always difficult because of the changes that occur during the course of such studies. Personnel change, inmates come and go, procedures and laws change, and the attitudes of all those involved do not remain static. Nevertheless, there are certain constants about the Program that lend themselves to accurate description and it is on these factors that this Study will focus. No-one previously has undertaken the task of compiling a comprehensive description of the Program. Such an undertaking is particularly important in view of the lack of coordinated data and the segmented nature of the information available about the Program. Each agency has its own particular files, regulations, procedures and records relative to the Program and the personnel from these agencies have their own particular orientations and concerns. This Study seeks to capture some of these various regulations, procedures, records and perspectives and to present them under one cover.

As part of the first purpose of this Study the author attempted to obtain information about Day Parole or other similarly termed programs as operated in the other Canadian Provinces. While some Provincial Correctional Services were most cooperative in providing data about their Day Parole programs, other

Provinces and several National Parole offices failed to reply to the author's repeated written requests for information. Still other Correctional Services had Day Parole programs operating on a small scale but there had not been any concerted effort to systematically compile data regarding their programs. In terms of the available literature dealing with Day Parole in Canada, the most outstanding feature is the remarkable lack of published material. The Provinces in which Day Parole programs operate generally have some information available in Annual Reports and Policy and Procedure Manuals but even in most of these cases the data is not usually systematically presented. This Study hopes to at least provide a basic source of data about Day Parole in Alberta. In this regard it may be of assistance to those responsible for Corrections in Alberta in general and Day Parole in particular. Also it may be of value to more academically-oriented audiences who may, at some time in the future, be interested in attempting a comparative analysis or other type of research dealing with Day Parole in Canada.

Testing and Analysing

The second purpose of the Study is to test some of the claims frequently made about the Day Parole Program. As a result, this part of the Study constitutes an evaluation of selected aspects of this Program in particular and, due to the general similarity between this Program and others in different jurisdictions, it may well be applicable to other Day Parole Programs. As will be seen in Chapter II dealing with the available literature on Day Parole there is certainly no lack of testimonials from numerous sources as to the benefits and effects of Day Parole. The literature provides us with "off-hand evaluations that rely on intuition, opinion, or trained sensibility" rather than systematically "examining and weighing a phenomenon... against some explicit or implicit yardstick" (Weiss, 1972:1-2). As a result, this Study takes some of the off-hand evaluations and measures them against clear and specific criteria. Particular attention will be paid to the issue of the supposed benefits of employment on Day Parole as well as the extent of support of their dependents by men on Day Parole. This Study will not attempt to evaluate the overall effectiveness of Day Parole in terms of recidivism based on such imprecise indicators as re-arrest or reconviction rates compared with non-comparable groups. Such efforts will add little to the already contradictory findings based on this procedure. Rather, this Study will be primarily concerned with the effects of specific strategies and components within the Program (Weiss, 1972). In the process we hopefully will increase our knowledge as to some of the realities of Day Parole Programs instead of being left to rely rather heavily on the hopes of such programs.

As well as putting some claims to the test, the Study examines the relationships between important aspects of the Program. Using data from official records, it is possible to analyse factors such as age, race, length of sentence, length of Day Parole, use of Day Parole, termination and earnings. Additional light is thrown on the Program through records relative to room and board deductions and employment activities.

Exploring Neglected Aspects

The third purpose of the Study is to explore some aspects of Day Parole programs neglected by previous research. Due to the relative newness of such programs, and as will be seen in the Review of the Literature, the tendency of other authors to dwell on the legalistic and administrative aspects of Day Parole, the possible range for exploration is very wide indeed. Beneath the formal structure of Day Parole programs, with their laws, administrative practices and operational policies, lies a complex social setting to which very little attention has been paid by previous researchers. Some of the aspects to be explored in this Study are the Day Parolee's perspective, the response of the public, the employer's interest in Day Parole and the strain and pressure that go along with being a prisoner for half a day and virtually a free citizen the other half of the day.

Summary

This Study then seeks to describe, to test and analyse and to explore. Where appropriate it will include the inmate's point of view and rely on his experiences as a source of data. This is especially important in view of the general enthusiasm for and acceptance of Day Parole by correctional officials and most social scientists who have written about the subject. The deviant's point of view is an important consideration in the study of deviance in society. By relying less on the official moralities and by taking the deviant's perspective into consideration, sociologists often feel they are better able to understand the nature of deviance in society[36]. With this in mind, Klein (1974) has examined the offender's view of negotiated justice in an effort to extend the boundaries and provide a broader view of the structure of negotiations and the process of exchange. Likewise, this Study will try to extend the boundaries of what we know about Day Parole by relying to some extent on the Day Parolee's views and experiences rather than depending solely on the officials' views.

Method of Data Collection

Descrbing the Program

Personal Knowledge

In order to provide a description of the Program the author relied in part on his experiences as a Parole Officer who handled the processing of numerous Day Parole applications as well as his experiences as a Social Worker in the Center from which the Program operated. During the summer months of 1973 and 1974, the author was employed as a Parole Officer in the Edmonton, Alberta office of the National Parole Service. His duties during these times primarily involved assessing most of the applications for Day Parole received at the Edmonton Parole Office. Although other Parole Officers did process some Day Parole applications the author was responsible for assessing the great majority of such applications. In addition to these Day Parole duties the author was involved to a lesser degree in the assessment of full parole applications and the community supervision of parolees on full parole and mandatory supervision.

Much of the data for this Study was collected during the Spring of 1973 and in June of that year the author commenced employment as a Social Worker at the Center. His duties primarily involved handling a caseload of inmates. Some of them were on Day Parole, some were awaiting Day Parole and some were at the Center for only a short period of time prior to the expiration of their sentence. As a result of his employment as a Parole Officer and Social Worker, the author brings to this Study an intimate familiarity with the operation of the Program. This extends from the time the Day Parole application is received by the Parole Officer through the period of Day Parole itself to the eventual conclusion of the Day Parolee's half-free status[37].

Being a part of "The System", an insider in many respects, enable the author to establish close occupational and personal relationships with many officials, who, in one way and another, contributed to the operation of the Program. These relationships allowed him to take part in various "behind the scenes" discussions, meetings, decisions and procedures to which an "outsider" would have great difficulty in gaining access. These relationships also opened many doors from the beginning of the Study through to the end that in all likelihood would have remained closed, either in whole or in part. The author's identification as being part of "the System" through his experience as a Probation Officer and a Parole Officer was instrumental in gaining the initial cooperation and trust of the institutional officials[38]. This acceptance by the Center's personnel meant he had complete access to the Center's records, files and documents pertaining to the Program. Much of the data about the

Program had not been systematically collected or organized solely in terms of the Day Parole Program. As will be seen later in the Study the Day Parole Program gradually attached itself to the other routines within the Center. As a result some data is collected and handled by one official while other data is the responsibility of another official. The acceptance of the author by the Center's personnel made it relatively easy to discuss the nature of the author's concern for particular data to be directed to the appropriate source and to have virtually unbridled access to the data.

This kind of cooperation made the research possible and it placed a heavy responsibility on the author to do his work with the utmost care. The author has an obligation to be truthful and accurate and to represent the Program as it is "most of the time". By the same token, items that would be considered sensational, even inappropriate, in some quarters must not be "played up", because such events do not, in the author's judgement, reflect what usually happens. There is no question that the author was witness to events that could represent personal embarrassment to some officials. These situations will not be dwelt upon because they do not represent what happens "most of the time". The understanding with which this research was conceived and carried out was that it would not be an exposé. In order to stay within this mandate, the Study will focus on what usually happens, not what ocasionally happens. The infrequent events not included were not germaine to the research questions guiding this Study.

Interviews

Officials

In addition to relying on personal knowledge based on previous experience as an official of two of the formal organizations concerned with the Program, the author conducted a series of structured interviews with a number of officials involved with the Program. Included here was a Parole Officer and the Social Workers/Counsellors at the Center and The Fort. The data obtained from these interviews dealt with the nature of their work and their philosophies of Day Parole as well as their comments about particular aspects of Day Parole, such as the response of the public and the apparent strain and tension of being on Day Parole.

Employers

Along with the interviews with staff members, the author conducted structured interviews with three employers, who over the years have hired many Day Parolees. The author discussed with these employers their experiences with the Day Parolees they have hired. The interviews were held with the superintendents of a paper salvage firm, a business specializing in the construction of roof trusses and a poultry processing firm.

Day Parolees

Structured interviews were also conducted by the author with a Sample of thirty men on Day Parole between March and May 1975[39]. With the cooperation of one of the senior administrative officials at the Center, a list was compiled of all the men on Day Parole as of March 10, 1975. By periodically updating this list, the author was able to keep track of who was on Day Parole and for how long. Particular attention was paid to the anticipated release dates of the Day Parolees and when they were nearing the last week or ten days of their Day Parole, they were contacted by the author and interviewed.

Testing and Analysing

Evaluation

This part of the Study takes a series of statements made in connection with this Program and measures these statements against specific criteria.

Claims

The statements or claims were obtained from a review of the available literature on Day Parole as well as from claims put forth by the various officials dealing with the Program.

Criteria

The criteria against which the claims are weighed were taken from the Center's records and files and from the responses of the Day Parolees, officials and employers.

For example, Day Parole is frequently said to allow a man to support his dependents even when he is in gaol. An examination of the expenses incurred by the Sample of thirty men on Day Parole enabled the author to draw certain conclusions as to the extent to which men with dependents did in fact support these dependents.

Another example included asking questions of the Sample of men on Day Parole relative to their present Day Parole job and their jobs "on the street". The author was able to determine the extent to which Day Parole allows a man to keep his regular job even if he is in prison. Further, by discussing the nature of the Day Parole jobs with the Day Parolees and the three employers, the author was able to reach certain conclusions as to the extent of the claim that Day Parole allows a man to develop good work habits and skills.

Analysis of Official Records

There were a number of official records at the Center relative to the Day Parole Program. The principle record, known as the Day Parole Register, provided most of the data for this part of the Study. Certain facts and figures, namely age, race, sentence length, Day Parole length, use of Day Parole, termination and earnings, were coded, keypunched and subjected to selected statistical analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

The principles of descriptive statistics, particularly per cent, are used to describe certain characteristics of every Day Parolee at the Center up to the end of 1974.

Relationships Between Characteristics

By comparing these characteristics with each other it is possible to analyse the relationship between characteristics. A measure of association, Phi, is used to measure the strength of the relationship.

Elaboration of Relationships

Through procedures of elementary multivariate analysis it is possible to elaborate on the nature of the relationships between characteristics of the Day Parole Population.

Exploring Neglected Areas

Introduction

Part of this Study looked at aspects of Day Parole that have been largely ignored by previous researchers. The findings in this regard are tentative ones only but they were systematically explored and documented sufficiently to warrant inclusion in the Study. They represent crucial concerns of this Day Parole Program and probably other Day Parole programs as well.

Day Parolee's Perspective

The Day Parolee's perspectives on what they feel about Day Parole has received very little attention previously so the author asked the Sample of Day Parolees about their reactions to being on Day Parole, what they liked and disliked and why they were interested in Day Parole.

The Strain of Being on Day Parole

In order to explore the extent of role strain related to the unique status of Day Parole, the author interviewed the men on Day Parole, their Social Worker/Counsellors and some employers about this phenomenon.

Employer's Point of View

Since Day Parole is most frequently used for the purposes of employment, the firms employing men on Day Parole play a key part. The author interviewed the Day Parolees, Program Officials and some employers as to the reactions of employers of Day Parolees. Research questions such as "Why do employers hire men on Day Parole?" and "Do Day Parolees differ from other employees?" enabled the author to explore more fully this important part of Day Parole.

Public Reaction

The question of how the public reacts to Day Parolees in particular and the Program in general was explored through a series of interviews with the employers, the Day Parolees and Program Officials.

Summary

Much of the data in this Study was gathered through interviews conducted by the author with key people in the Program. The questions were often open-ended, thereby allowing the respondents the freedom to report on the matters at hand in a fashion with which they could be fairly comfortable. This approach was more personalized and therefore presumably less annoying than a fill-in-the-blanks questionnaire. Many of the concerns examined in this Study dealt with attitudes and ways of viewing things. The personal interview was well suited to issues explored by the Study.

The interviews were not always conducted under ideal conditions. They usually had to be squeezed into the usual routines of the respondents. The responses were recorded in longhand because tape-recording the interviews was not permitted.

Presentation of the Findings

Narration

In many ways a narrative account of some of the findings was a most appropriate technique. This is particularly true for matters dealing with the way various people perceived various aspects of the Program. Using the exact language of the respondents brought to the Study a "flavor" that cannot be captured by numbers alone.

Facts and Figures

Other parts of the Study were ideally suited for presentation in tabular form. This enabled comparisons to be made in areas of specific interest. Discussions based on the facts and figures are presented.

Summary

This Study describes, tests, analyses and explores selected aspects of a Day Parole Program. In order to achieve these ends, the author relied on his personal knowledge, the records and files kept by the various agencies involved and the responses to interviews with employers, Program officials and men on Day Parole. In addition to the narrative aspects of this Study, the principles of descriptive statistics are used in relation to the distribution of certain characteristics within the Day Parole Population. As some of these distributions lent themselves to bivariate and multivariate analysis, the Study also examines how certain characteristics are related.

FOOTNOTES

1 30 and 31 Victoria, c.3

2 British North American Act (1867), s.92(14)

3 ibid., S.92(6)

4 ibid., S.91(27)

5 ibid., S.91(28)

6 R.S.C. 1953-43, c.51, s.1 and subsequent amendments

7 present Criminal Code, s.646

8 ibid., S. 659

9 ibid., S. 662.1

10 ibid., S. 663

11 ibid., S. 338

12 R.S.C. 1952, c.217, s.1 and subsequent amendments

13 ibid., presently S.17

14 ibid., presently S.36

15 1958, c.38, s.1 and subsequent amendments

16 ibid., presently S.2

17 ibid., presently S.2

18 ibid., presently S.15

19 An example here is the Corrections Act of Alberta, R.S.A. 1970, c.23, s.1

20 Criminal Code of Canada, 1967, s.638 (1) and 638 (5)

21 R.S.C., 1968-69, c.38, s.75

22 R.S.C., 1972, c.13, s.57

23 Present Criminal Code, s.662.1 (1)

24 ibid., s.663(1) (c)

25 ibid., s.663(1) (b)

26 Parole Act, 1958, c.38, s.1

27 Paragraph 2(1) (a) of the Parole Regulations, P.C. 1973-1432, June 5, 1973

28 Parole Act, S.13

29 ibid., S.13

30 Earned remission is granted subject to good behavior by an inmate. It is colloquially known as "good time".

31 Parole Act, S.6

32 The Penitentiary Act (1960-61, c.53, s.26) contains temporary absence provisions for inmates of Federal institutions.

33 R.S.C. 1968-69, c.38, s.110

34 Parole Act, s.2

35 Parole Act, s.13

36 In Deviants, J.L. Simmons (1969) takes the notion even further and dedicates his book "to the proposition that there are no "thems", there is only "Us".

37 It is realized, however that because this account is based in part on the author's personal knowledge, it is subject to the influence of personal experience with the Program. This account also undoubtedly suffers from a lack of completeness that may be attributed in part to seeing an event "through the eyes of the beholder".

38 As the author and one of the senior institutional officials were photocopying a ledger containing a wealth of data about Day Parolees, the official remarked "We normally wouldn't do this (copy official records) but we know you and trust you, so it's O.K."

39 See Appendix II for a discussion of the selection of the Sample.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

There is not a great deal of literature available that deals with Day Parole. Most of it is in the form of Journal articles or, to a much smaller extent, as portions of chapters of books dealing with Corrections in general. The bulk of the literature was published in the late 1960's, reflecting the increased popularity and growth of Day Parole programs during this period. The most extensive coverage has been given to Day Parole in the United States. A few authors have written about Day Parole in Europe and other overseas jurisdictions[1]. The available literature dealing with Day Parole in Canada is rather limited and it will be examined in detail later in this Chapter.

In terms of general contents, most of the literature consists of general descriptions, testimonials and legalistic accounts of particular Day Parole programs. Attention is usually paid to such features as the legislation, formal organization, claimed advantages, history, earnings, employment, selection procedures and institutional problems with the program[2]. There also exists another grouping of publications that generally are reviews by social scientists of Day Parole in the United States[3]. A third set of publications discusses the concept of Day Parole within the broader theoretical framework of corrections[4]. A fourth small group can be roughly classified as dealing with Day Parole programs in an empirical or analytic fashion. Most of these efforts to analyze or test selected aspects of Day Parole have appeared only since 1970 and they will be examined in detail later in this Chapter.

The literature reveals that Day Parole has received a great deal of support from correctional officials. Indeed, it has been heralded by some as "the opening wedge for a major breakthrough in correctional administration" (Grupp, 1967 (b): 15). Most of the social scientists and lawyers who have written on the subject seem to share the enthusiasm of correctional officials for Day Parole. In their review of the literature, Waldo et al (1973:349) noted that "the bulk of scholarly writing on the subject has been either descriptive or speculative" and consisting primarily of opinions, observations and educated guesses. Doleschal (1971) summarizes that few of the objectives and assumptions related to Day Parole have been supported by acceptable research conclusions.

Benefits and Difficulties of Day Parole in the United States

The literature states that the alleged benefits of Day Parole far outweigh the reported difficulties. Some benefits to the community are reported to include financial relief to taxpayers (Rudoff et al, 1971), reduction of crime (Goldfarb and Singer, 1973), involves the community in the rehabilitation process (MacDonald, 1968), the inmate is better equipped to meet his responsibilities upon discharge

(McMillan, 1965) and the quality of citizenship of the inmate is improved (Zalba, 1967).

Some benefits to the inmate in terms of his rehabilitation are reported to include the following: allows the inmate to learn or practice major adult roles (Zalba, 1967), inmate retains his job skills and earning powers Sloane, (1967), challenges the inmate and supports his efforts to adjust to the pressures and temptations of the free community (Root, 1973), psychological benefits from supporting himself and his family (Goldfarb and Singer, 1973), gain a more healthy outlook toward life (Case, 1967) and encourages good work habits, a sense of responsibility and a degree of self-respect (Grupp, 1965).

The Correctional System benefits in that Day Parole is reported to relieve the idleness of prison (Goldfarb and Singer, 1973), allows practical application of correctional processes started in the institution (Alexander, 1966) and provides an alternative for those who need closer supervision than available under probation but who are not grave dangers to the community (Root, 1973).

Most of the reported difficulties with Day Parole programs involve administrative concerns such as housing (Case, 1967), finding jobs (Goldfarb and Singer, 1973), security (Ayer, 1970), inadequate staffing and varied sentencing patterns (Johnson, 1970) and restrictive and inflexible legislation (Ayer, 1970).

Research of Day Parole in the United States

Brahen (1973), Capone (1973) and Wiechert (1973) report the development of the first experimental study of a special work-release program for addicted inmates in New York. The inmates will be daily given agents that block the action of narcotics. In addition to being released to go to work, the inmates will receive group and individual therapy. This will be a controlled study featuring the random selection of volunteer inmates to control and experimental groups. The usefulness of the program will be assessed on the basis of a one year follow-up as to each group's employment, recidivism and general community adjustment. At the time of publication, the program was in the pilot phase. No further published information is available at the present time.

Brown and Spevacek (1971) explored the impact on day parolees' attitudes related to concepts and places within themselves (their self and their future) and outside themselves (the program, the job, the home, the community and the prison) in a community as opposed to a prison setting in Washington, D.C. Thirty-seven inmates eligible for Day Parole were randomly assigned to each of two groups of day parolees. One group was housed in a facility in the city while the other was housed in a special section of the prison. Each group was given a series of semantic differential tests consisting of evaluation, potency and activity scales before and after being assigned to one of the groups. "The concern in the second testing was with learning the impact of placement in the new environment on clients' attitudes and ideas" (p.37). The authors found that in both the groups the day parolee's ideas about himself and his future were "comparatively stable phenomena unlikely to be affected by a short-term stay in a new environment alone" (p.39). In terms of concepts and places outside the self, the authors found that "placement in a community as opposed to an institutional setting is associated with greater effort at evaluation and with increased attitudinal change" (p.39). The authors conclude that day parolees housed in a community setting are more likely to do more thinking about their living conditions and harder thinking about their world than their counterparts housed in prison. They argue that in terms of rehabilitation, "it would be most useful to locate each work-release program as close as possible to the actual community to which the client will be returning, thereby permitting the fullest possible evaluation by the client of his real community and of his capacity for making pro-social adjustment to it" (p.42).

Johnson and Kotch (1973) sent a questionnaire to all state adult prison systems in the United States that authorized the operation of Day Parole programs in order to assess the effect of the number of prison units and their geographical location on the implementation of Day Parole. They calculated a Day Parole participation rate per 1,000 inmates. The authors found that "the participation rate decreases consistently with progressively greater numbers of inmates under control of the prison system" (p.46). They also found that "the highest work-release participation rates were scored by the prison systems consisting of many small units well distributed about the state". (p.46) The prison systems which concentrated inmate populations in large prisons recorded the least participation rate and the highest rate occurred where community centers were used to house day parolees.

Root (1973) sent a letter to state correctional authorities concerning their work-release programs in order to "identify the operational policy which determines the implementation of a program and, consequently, its feasible goals" (p.52). He was primarily concerned with who was eligible, when did they participate and where were day parolees housed. Root found many regulations and administrative practices that excluded participation and he concluded it was institutional concerns, not rehabilitative criteria, that determined eligibility. The author found that eligibility was frequently specified in terms of a maximum period of time remaining until release. Root concluded that such regulations and practices restrict work-release programs to a transitional role rather than an alternative to incarceration. The author found that day parolees were frequently housed within prisons in rural areas where security, not rehabilitation, was the main goal. He concludes that such features undermine the employment and educational opportunities of Day Parole. Root summarizes that until eligibility, selection and housing criteria are "based upon the needs of the individual, not the institution, work-releases will be a showcase program with few long-term benefits" (p.57).

Cooper (1970) sent questionnaires to one hundred Day Parolees and one hundred employers of day parolees selected at random from all areas of North Carolina. He found the employees were older men who had a history of successful employment before entering prison. Few day parolees remained on the job after their release from prison. Most employers were well satisfied with the performance of employees on Day Parole and hired day parolees because of a need for unskilled labor as well as a desire to contribute to the success of the program.

Grupp (1967a) sent a questionnaire to a twenty per cent random sample of sheriffs in forty-two American states. The sheriff is often given the responsibility of administering Day Parole programs. The author was concerned with the sheriffs' experience and views regarding work-release and the association of selected personal-social variables with their attitudes. He found that sheriffs generally had limited experience with Day Parole, even in a few jurisdictions where such programs were not offically authorized. The majority of the sheriffs regarded work-release favorably even though most felt they did not have adequate staff or facilities to operate the program. Five personal-social variables (membership in the National Sheriffs Association, length of experience as sheriff, formal education, age, and degree of authoritarianism) were inspected to ascertain the association between each variable and the sheriffs' attitude toward work-release. Contrary to expectations, none of these associations were statistically significant.

In a series of articles, Rudoff et al (1969, 1971, 1973) report on an intensive longitudinal study of a work furlough program at a minimum security facility in California. The study was designed to evaluate the economic and rehabilitative value of the program as well as the attitudinal and behavioral changes of the participants. The authors compared inmates selected for day parole (about one-third of the total inmate population) with those who did not apply for or were denied participation in the program. Using data from inmate files maintained for administrative purposes, test results obtained at admission and discharge, and follow up post-release data, the authors found that the changes in self-image of the day parole group were more marked and more negative than among the nonfurlough group. There was a greater tendency for those on Day Parole to define themselves as noncriminal and to see the criminal justice system improperly treating them as a criminal. Even though the Day Parole group had a more stable and favorable occupational background, the authors suggest that "the work furlough program perpetuated a disadvantaged occupational status, inasmuch as most men on work furlough were occupationally marginal to start with, and some were found jobs which downgraded them" (p.51). In terms of a number of measures of recidivism, the difference between the two groups was quite large and in each case favorable to the

Day Parole group. In addition, a study of carefully matched samples of each group revealed that the Day Parole group did much better than the nonfurlough group on all major measures of recidivism. The authors conclude that "while not denying that good selection produces good results for the work furlough group, one must still argue that this is not the whole story. Good results are additionally a consequence of work furlough itself" (p.53).

Waldo et al (1973) reports the findings of a Florida study concerned with attitudinal changes that may be attributed to participation in a Day Parole program. The authors were able to randomly assign inmates from a pool of eligible inmates to control and experimental groups. Questionnaires containing rigorously constructed attitude scales were administered to all inmates chosen for Day Parole immediately prior to starting the program and just before the end of their sentence. A similar procedure was followed for the imprisoned control group. The analysis of the responses to the attitude scales, controlling for inmate characteristics and examining specific scale items, indicated that "there is no discernible improvement over the duration of the work-release experience in the levels of perceived opportunity, achievement motivation, legal self-concept and self-esteem expressed by work-release participants. Further, at the end of final discharge from prison (Time 2), there was no significant difference between work-release participants and non-release controls with regard to perceptions of legitimate

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opportunity, achievement motivation, legal self-concepts and focal concerns" (p.369). The only attitude change apparently due to the work release experience concerned inmate self-image, which was significantly lower at Time 2 than Time 1 for those on Day Parole as well as significantly lower than that of the control group at Time 2. The authors cautiously conclude that Day Parole does not appear to encourage any significant attitude improvement. They speculate that the impact of Day Parole on inmate attitudes may be due to the quality of community contacts, such as with employers and relatives, more than the specific experience of work-release" (p.371).

In summary, it would appear the rapid expansion, acceptance and operation of Day Parole programs by the Correctional System is evidence that Day Parole adequately meets a variety of needs of this System and at the same time does not seriously violate the conflicting expectations the general community has about the role of Corrections. Jobson (1968) nicely summarizes the appeal of Day Parole: "Punishment was handed out, yet the prisoner was enabled to continue supporting his family and to make a valuable economic contribution to the community. At the same time, savings resulted to the community in the administration of justice, since the prisoner required neither custodial nor supervisory care during the work days" (p.333). As far as the impact of Day Parole on the inmate is concerned, this is still largely a matter of speculation. We do, however, have some evidence, althpugh by no means conclusive, that somehow the Day Parole experience is associated with less recidivism and with a lower, more negative self-image.

Day Parole in Canada

The available published material concerned with Day Parole in Canada is rather limited. This may in part be due to the relative recentness of full scale Day Parole programs on the correctional scene in this country plus the traditional reluctance of correctional officials to fully expose their operations to empirical research[5].

In Canada, the Day Parole provisions of the Federal Parole Act are applicable in each Province to inmates serving sentences for offences contrary to any Federal statute but not for offences contrary to Provincial statutes. The term "Day Parole" does not appear in the Parole Act until the 1968 - 69 amendments[6], at which time the practice was specifically defined and given a legal status much more influential than before (Miller, 1970). Day Parole now means "parole the terms and conditions of which require the inmate to whom it is granted to return to prison from time to time during the duration of such parole or to return to prison after a specified period". (Parole Act, S.2). Prior to this amendment, the Parole Board used the term "temporary parole" to refer to what is now known as Day Parole. The authority for temporary parole was not to be found in the body of the Parole Act or the Parole Regulations but rather in the operational policies of the National Parole Board.

In addition to National Day Parole, the Provinces have authority to temporarily release selected inmates for medical, humanitarian or rehabilitative reasons. The August, 1969 proclamation of an amendment to the Federal Prisons and Reformatories Act allowed for the first time designated Provincial officials to release Provincial prisoners at any time during their sentence for an unlimited period for medical reasons and for a period not exceeding fifteen days for humanitarian reasons or to assist in the prisoner's rehabilitation[7]. The legislation reads:

> "Where, in the opinion of an official designated by the Lieutenant-Governor of the province in which a prisoner is confined in a place other than a penetentiary it is necessary or desirable that the prisoner should be absent, with or without escort, for medical or humanitarian reasons or to assist in the rehabilitation of the prisoner at any time during his period of imprisonment, the absence of the prisoner may be authorized from time to time by such official for an unlimited period for medical reasons and for a period not exceeding fifteen days for humanitarian reasons or to assist in the rehabilitation of the prisoner" (Prisons and Reformatories Act, S.36).

For the purposes of this Study, attention will be paid to Day Parole on a provincial basis as well as temporary absence in each Province. Wherever possible, reference will be made to contributions of a scholarly nature in addition to the data available in Annual Reports, letters, and Policy manuals of the various Correctional Authorities.

Table 2.1 illustrates the use of Day Parole by the National Parole Board on a nation-wide basis.

TABLE 2.1

TEMPORARY AND DAY PAROLES GRANTED BY THE NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD BY CALENDAR YEAR FROM FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS, 1960 - 1974

YEAR	TYPE OF INSTITUTION FEDERAL		PROVINCIAL		TOTAL	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
1960	57	86.4	9	13.6	66	100
1961	70	83.3	14	16.7	84	100
1962	77	93.9	5	6.1	82	100
1963	56	87.5	8	12.5	64	100
1964	57	87.7	8	12.3	65	100
1965	55	64.0	31	36.0	86	100
1966	48	50.0	48	50.0	96	100
1967	19	17.0	93	83.0	112	100
1968	11	4.5	233	95.5	244	100
1969	47	9.9	427	90.1	474	100
1970	123	18.1	557	81.9	680	100
1971	336	28.8	851	71.2	1187	100
1972	394	34.1	762	65.9	1156	100
1973	1137	60.4	747	39.6	1884	100
1974	1750	72.7	657	27.3	2407	100

Source: Letter from Director, Research and Planning, National Parole Service, March, 1976

Table 2.1 indicates that the National Parole Board has placed more and more inmates on Day Parole for activities in the community. In the early 1960's, most Temporary Paroles were granted for inmates of Federal Institutions. By the late 1960's, most of the Day Paroles were granted to inmates of Provincial Institutions. By the mid 1970's, the trend had reversed itself again, with Day Parole being used most often for Federal inmates. The decline in the use of Day Parole from Provincial Institutions is directly related to the increased use of Provincially Authorized Temporary Absences for Employment or Education. Of particular interest in terms of this Study is the extensive use of Day Parole from Provincial Institutions, especially since 1965. Table 2.2 examines the use of Day Parole from Provincial Institutions.

Table 2.2 indicates that Temporary and Day Paroles from Provincial Institutions started in 1960. The year 1968 saw the use of Day Paroles increase significantly and it peaked in 1971. Since, then there has been a steady decline in the use of Day Paroles by the Provinces. The two primary consumers of National Day Parole have been Alberta and Manitoba. These Provinces combined account for 70.1 per cent of all Day Parole granted through 1974. The other Provinces either have their own Temporary Absence Programs or else have made little effort to implement a gradual release program.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 provide evidence that on a nationwide basis, the Parole Board has clearly expanded its efforts to enable prisoners to participate in community-based activities. The picture at the Provincial level, however, is not so clear. As will be seen below, the Provincial Correctional Services have followed their Federal counterpart only in varying degrees in the trend to gradual release.

TABLE 2.2

TEMPORARY AND DAY PAROLES GRANTED BY THE NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD
FROM PROVINCIAL INSTITUTIONS BY PROVINCE, 1960 - 1974

		PROVINCE										
YEAR	f	B.C.	ALTA.	SASK.	MAN.	ONT.	QUE.	N.B.	N.S.	P.E.I.	NFLD.	YK. NWT
1960	9				NOT KNOWN							
1961	14	9	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962	5	1	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
1963	8	4	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1964	8	6	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965	31	17	-	2	11	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966	48	36	-	3	8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	93	70	-	5	7	2	-	8	1	-	-	-
1968	233	91	4	60	21	9	-	23	17	4	4	-
1969	427	64	71	81	63	30	4	35	64	8	6	1
1970	557	10	300	-	163	-	4	6	52	16	2	4
1971	851	-	368	2	282	3	77	6	96	16	1	-
1972	762	-	404	-	239	-	51	2	54	12	-	-
1973	747	3	329	-	270	2	69	-	63	10	-	1
1974	657	1	357	2	213	3	15	3	55	8	-	-
%*	99.8	7.0	41.3	3.8	28.8	1.1	5.0	1.9	9.0	1.7	0.3	0.1
TOTAL	4450	312	1833	168	1278	51	221	83	402	74	13	6

*N=4441 (excluding 1960 Temporary Paroles)

Source: Letter from Director, Research and Planning, National Parole Service March, 1976

The Province of British Columbia

Day Parole in British Columbia

Looking first at the operation of the National Parole Board in British Columbia, it is evident from Table 2.2 that correctional officials there increasingly relied on Temporary Parole up to 1968, at which time its use decreased dramatically and was no longer used in 1971. Up to 1967, most of the Day Paroles issued in Canada by the National Parole Board were granted to inmates imprisoned in British Columbia.

Temporary Absence Program in British Columbia[8]

In addition to the use of Day Parole by the National Parole Board in British Columbia, the Corrections Branch of the Provincial Department of the Attorney-General operates a Temporary Absence Program within each Provincial correctional facility. In 1970, the Province passed amendments to its 1960 Corrections Act giving the Minister responsible for the Corrections Branch authority to grant an absence for an unlimited period for medical and educational reasons and for up to fifteen days for humanitarian or rehabilitative reasons[9]. As well, the Minister was empowered to allow selected inmates to participate in gainful employment for wages outside the correctional center[10]. An inmate on work-release is subject to the rules and regulations of the correctional center[11].

Correctional officials in British Columbia indicate that in addition to Day Parole they have used re-entry programs such as home visits, weekend passes and work-release to help inmates reintegrate into the community and to offset the typical post-release problems of a lack of money, residence and employment. In terms of the release of inmates for employment purposes, it appears that between 1963 and 1966 the legislative authority rested with Orders-in-Council issued by the Provincial Cabinet. From 1966 to 1970, Day Paroles authorized by the National Parole Board were primarily used to accomplish this goal. Since 1970, the Temporary Absence legislation in the British Columbia Corrections Act has been used to get the offender back working in the community.

Statistics

Correctional officials admit that statistics relative to the Temporary Absence Program are limited and inaccurate. The Co-ordinator of the Program has reported, however that the program has grown from forty-two inmates on Day Parole from the Oakalla Prison Farm in 1966 to approximately 1,000 TA's for the fiscal year 1973-1974. It was estimated that 4,500 to 5,000 TA's would be issued during 1974-1975. The TAP Co-ordinator has noted a trend toward allowing inmates on Employment TA's to work and live in the community for a maximum of fourteen days, return to the institution for a brief period and then return to their residence and job in the community. This is in contrast to previously only allowing inmates to work in the community and returning to the institution in the evenings and on weekends.

Table 2.3 illustrates the use of TA's in British Columbia in recent years.

Table 2.3 indicates that Correctional officials in

British Columbia are placing increasing emphasis on employment TA's and that the Temporary Absence Program is now dominated by Employment Absences.

TABLE 2.3

TEMPORARY ABSENCES GRANTED IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1972/73 AND 1973/74

YEAR	TOTAL TA's	TYPE OF TEMPORARY ABSENCE					
		EDUCATION		EMPLOYMENT		SHORT TERM	
		f	%	f	%	f	%
1972-73	665	17	2.6	334	50.2	314	47.2
1973-74	989	27	2.7	692	70.0	270	27.3
TOTAL	1654	44	2.7	1026	62.0	584	35.3

Source: Annual Reports of the Corrections Branch, Department of the Attorney-General, Government of British Columbia, 1973 (p.24) and 1974 (p.79).

The 1974 Annual Report indicates that of the twenty-seven Education Absences granted, twenty-five (93 per cent) were successfully completed. No data is available concerning the completion rates of Employment Absences. This Annual Report also indicates that the 692 work-release participants came from the eight Provincial Correctional Centers and three of these Centers accounted for 514 (74 per cent) of the participants.

Officials of the Temporary Absence Program feel that Employment Absences have been extremely successful from an economic point of view. From April to July 1974, participants earned in excess of $148,000.00. The 1973 Annual Report lists Gross Earnings during the fiscal year 1972-1973 to be $119,692.00. The 1974 Annual Report indicates Gross Earnings during 1973-1974 to be $158,185.00.

Table 2.4 examines the distribution of gross earnings of work-release participants in recent years.

TABLE 2.4

DISTRIBUTION OF GROSS EARNINGS OF
WORK-RELEASE PARTICIPANTS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA
1972-1973 AND 1973-1974

ITEM	YEAR 1972-73	 1973-74
Gross Earnings	$119,692	$158,185
No. of Participants	334	692
Average Gross Earnings	$ 358	$ 229
Distribution of Gross Earnings		
Room & Board	not avail.	$ 11,895 (7.5%)
Family Support	N/A	$ 14,715 (9.3%)
Restitution & Debts	$ 15,986 (13.4%)	$ 1,127 (0.7%)
Clothing	N/A	$ 3,656 (2.3%)
Retaining Earnings	N/A	$126,785 (80.1%)

Source: Annual Reports of the Correctional Branch, Department of the Attorney-General, Government of British Columbia, 1973 (p.24) and 1974 (p.80).

Table 2.4 indicates that in terms of the use of inmate earnings, there initially was considerable emphasis placed on encouraging the inmate to pay existing debts and make

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restitution. As the program expanded, the payment of debts and restitution received less emphasis. As the program expanded, there was a noticable drop in the average gross earnings of the participants. This may have been due to market conditions such as more unemployment. Another possible explanation is that the officials were approving more employment TA's for shorter periods of time.

Table 2.4 also indicates that correctional officials and the participants chose to allow the inmates to retain most (80.1 per cent) of their earnings for their release rather than having them spend it during their period of imprisonment. The inmates spent 19.8 per cent of the gross earnings during their prison sentence. Deductions for room and board (7.5 per cent) were compulsory so in reality correctional officials encouraged inmates to spend 12.4 per cent of their earnings.

In summary, gradual release in British Columbia initially took the form of Day Parole granted by the National Parole Board. Once Correctional officials in that Province developed their own releasing mechanisms via the Temporary Absence Program, the use of National Day Parole virtually vanished. British Columbia seems to have made a concerted effort to implement the concept of community corrections and gradual release.

The Province of Alberta

Day Parole in Alberta

As shown in Table 2.2, Day Parole issued to inmates in Alberta prisons represented 41.3 per cent of all Day

Paroles granted by the National Parole Board in Canada. Of all the Provinces, Alberta made the most use of National Day Parole as a means of implementing gradual release. The first Day Parole was issued in 1968 and the program mushroomed in 1970. The peak year was 1972 and there has been a slight decrease in the use of Day Parole since then, although to the end of 1974, correctional officials in Alberta have continued to make extensive use of Day Parole.

There were six Provincial correctional facilities in Alberta: Peace River Correctional Institution, Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution, Belmont Rehabilitation Center, Bowden Institute[12], Calgary Correctional Institution and Lethbridge Correctional Institution. Each facility made varying use of Day Parole.

The National Parole Board does not have data available showing the use of Day Parole from each facility. Perusal of the Alberta Corrections Annual Reports produces a conflicting and/or confusing picture of Day Parole at each prison.

In order to determine the use of Day Parole at each prison, the author reviewed a publication at the Edmonton Parole Service Office. This document has been published monthly since October, 1971 and, among other items, includes a list of all Provincial Day Parolees under the authority of the District Representative of the National Parole Service at Edmonton at month end. Although this list is not completely accurate, it does represent the best source of data about Day Parole at each prison. Table 2.5 presents this data.

TABLE 2.5

DAY PAROLEES UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE EDMONTON PAROLE SERVICE OFFICE, BY INSTITUTION AT SELECTED MONTH-END DATES

DATE	TOTAL ON DAY PAROLE	BELMONT		PEACE RIVER		FT. SASK.		BOWDEN		OTHER	
		f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Oct. 71	23	19	82.6	2	8.7	1	4.3	1	4.3	-	-
Dec. 71	29	20	70.0	2	7.0	5	17.2	1	3.4	1	3.4
Mar. 72	36	31	86.1	2	5.6	1	2.8	2	5.6	-	-
June 72	36	23	63.9	4	11.1	2	5.6	7	19.4	-	-
Sept. 72	45	34	75.6	3	6.7	1	2.2	7	15.6	-	-
Dec. 72	28	23	82.1	2	7.1	2	7.1	1	3.6	-	-
Mar. 73	48	41	85.4	2	4.2	3	6.3	2	4.2	-	-
June 73	40	34	85.0	3	7.5	-	-	3	7.5	-	-
Sept. 73	43	42	97.7	1	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dec. 73	24	23	95.8	1	4.2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mar. 74	52	49	94.2	1	1.9	1	1.9	-	-	1	1.9
June 74	34	34	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sept. 74	50	44	88.0	2	4.0	3	6.0	-	-	1	2.0
Dec. 74	54	46	85.2	5	9.3	1	1.9	-	-	2	3.7

As Table 2.5 shows, most Day Paroles issued in the northern half of the Province are granted to inmates at the Belmont Rehabilitation Center at Edmonton. This facility is by far the most active one in terms of the use of Day Parole. Just how it compares to Day Parole at Calgary or Lethbridge could not be determined. The category "Other" includes Day Parole granted to inmates who had been transferred to other centers such as Henwood (a residential alcoholism treatment center) and McDougall House (a half-way house for women).

It is possible to compare the use of Day Parole at Belmont with Day Paroles issued from all other facilities in the Province. Since 1971, officials at Belmont have recorded data about the Day Parole Program separately from other events there. Table 2.6 provides an approximate comparison of the number of Day Paroles granted during a fiscal year at Belmont with the number of Day Paroles granted during the nearest calendar year throughout the Province.

As Table 2.6 indicates, most Day Paroles granted in the province were granted to inmates at Belmont. By 1974, nearly three-quarters of all Day Parolees in Alberta were inmates at Belmont.

In summary, the Belmont Rehabilitation Center at Edmonton operated the largest Day Parole Program of any correctional facility in the Province. Correctional officials in Alberta, in co-operation with officials of the National Parole Service, made extensive use of Day Parole, particularly from Belmont.

TABLE 2.6

DAY PAROLES GRANTED FROM BELMONT
AND THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCE OF ALBERTA,
1971-1974

Total Day Paroles Granted Throughout Province		Day Paroles Granted From Belmont		
YEAR	f	YEAR	f	%
1971	368	1971-72	218	59.2
1972	404	1972-73	233	55.2
1973	329	1973-74	240	72.9
1974	357	1974-75	264	73.9

Temporary Absence in Alberta

The Corrections Act of Alberta[13] and subsequent amendments through 1974 do not specify the manner in which the Temporary Absence provisions of the Prisons and Reformatories Act are to be applied. The Correctional Regulations of 1971[14] and subsequent amendments do not deal directly with TA's. There is mention, however, of using temporary absences Permit for admissions to hospitals (Section 19) as well as charging room and board to an inmate who is on TA for the purpose of employment (Section 37 (2)). Part Three of the Corrections Act contains provisions for the establishment of Work Training Programs outside a correctional institution but these provisions have not been construed in terms of gradual release.

The policy of the Corrections Services has been to allow institutional directors to authorize TA's for up to a period of five days while the Director of Corrections can authorize TA's for six to fifteen days. Traditionally, correctional officials in Alberta have used TA's for medical reasons, family visits, weekend passes, pre-release and other short term purposes. Correctional statistics in Alberta do not identify the purpose for the absence but some light is thrown on the matter in the 1971-1972 Annual Report (p. 15). Temporary Absence permits issued from the Lethbridge Correctional Institution totalled 471, of which 450 (95.5 per cent) were for three days or less. Correctional officials in Alberta have generally relied on National Day Parole to provide the releasing authority for inmates seeking daily absences for employment or educational purposes. In some cases, TA's have been authorized before and/or after the granting of Day Parole for facilitating the inmate's participation in a community-based activity.

In summary, the vehicle for implementing gradual release in Alberta through 1974 has clearly been the National Parole Board's Day Parole. Chapter Three of this Study takes an in-depth look at Day Parole as operated from the most active releasing facility, the Belmont Rehabilitation Center.

The Province of Saskatchewan

Day Parole in Saskatchewan

Table 2.2 indicated that this Province made very limited use of the Federal Day Parole services to get inmates into community-based activities. 1968 and 1969 proved to be the most active years in terms of Day Parole. All other times showed little or no use of Day Parole.

Temporary Absence in Saskatchewan

Literature Review

MacDonald (1968) provides the information about temporary absence authorized by Provincial Correctional officials in Saskatchewan and he credits Saskatchewan with the first work-release legislation in Canada. Davies et al (1972:19) note that the Corrections Act of Saskatchewan in 1967[15] was preceded by the Corrections Act of Manitoba in 1966 but "Only Saskatchewan took advantage of this legislation based on their definition of a 'work training' program with every person serving a sentence at a correctional institution eligible to participate". MacDonald notes that Part IV of the Saskatchewan Corrections Act dealt with "Work Training" programs and although such programs were generally restricted to inmates serving sentences for offences against Provincial Statutes, Section 28 (1) held that everyone under sentence in a correctional facility was eligible to participate in the work training program. The legislation defined work training as a privilege involving obtaining employment, continuing employment, self-employment and attending an educational center. The employer was required to forward the inmate's total earnings to the director of the correctional center and the earnings are to be disbursed "in an order of priority patterned on the Wisconsin Huber Law (p.509). This law, enacted in Wisconsin, U.S.A. in 1913, is generally held to be the earliest of all work-release legislation and according to MacDonald, the distribution of earnings followed the order of room and board, transportation costs to and from work, payment of fines and restitutions, family support, debts and finally savings for release from the institution (p.506).

In addition to briefly outlining Saskatchewan's Work-Release legislation, MacDonald made proposals for Canada-wide Work-Release legislation featuring judicial authority for judges to sentence offenders to Work-Release, Federal and Provincial administrative selection for Work-Release, and full time Work-Release administrators.

Despite two written requests for information concerning Day Parole/Work-Release in Saskatchewan, the author did not receive a reply. As a result, this part of the Study is unavoidably incomplete.

In summary, Saskatchewan has not made much use of Day Parole. Although it is understood that this Province does in fact operate an extensive Employment Temporary Absence Program, data about the program was not available for inclusion in this Study.

The Province of Manitoba

Day Parole In Manitoba

Table 2.2 shows that Manitoba has an active Day Parole Program, second only to Alberta. Day Parole in Manitoba saw increased popularity in 1969 and its use peaked in 1971. Since then the use of National Day Parole has remained extensive.

Temporary Absence in Manitoba[16]

Although it initially appeared that Manitoba did not have a Temporary Absence or Day Parole Program, it was later learned that such a program was in fact well established. In addition to the use of Day Parole to implement a program of gradual release, correctional officials in Manitoba also use Provincial Temporary Absences. The Manitoba Corrections Act, 1966[17], allowed the Minister to authorize an absence to attend any school or other rehabilitation treatment or training[18]. In addition, Part IV of the Act authorized Work-Release Programs allowing inmates to obtain employment, continue employment, conduct his own business or attend an educational institution[19]. In 1970, the Work-Release provisions were repealed[20] and Manitoba presently replies on the provisions dealing with Establishment of Programs[21] where the Minister or his delegate may establish programs of temporary absence for the purpose of education or employment.

Literature Review

The best available account of Day Parole and Employment Absences in Manitoba has been prepared by Davies et al (1972). Using a standardized interview schedule, they examined eight broad areas of interest regarding Day Parole in that Province:

1. The objectives of Day Parole
2. Factors affecting eligibility
3. The nature of selection and assessment
4. Documentation

5. Supervision
6. Staffing
7. Facilities and resources
8. Resident's (inmate) financing

The researchers surveyed 157 respondants, including 87 residents (inmates), 61 institutional staff and 9 National Parole Service Officers. The responses were tabulated in terms of response category and institutional location. The responses were presented in table form using frequencies, per centages and modes together with certain narrative accounts. In addition to making interpretations and drawing conclusions from their data, the researchers offered program recommendations. The data for the Manitoba study was collected from December, 1972 to February, 1973.

The setting for Day Parole in Manitoba is its four adult male correctional institutions, the forestry camps, and the Day Release Center in Winnipeg (p.4-5). Thirty-seven (42.5%) of the residents surveyed were on Day Parole while 9 (10.3%) were on Employment Absences (p.43). The remaining 41 (47.2%) residents were either awaiting Day Parole, had been denied Day Parole by the National Parole Board or had their Day Paroles revoked by the Parole Board. The residents either lived at one of the correctional institutions, or the Day Release Center or in the community (p.5).

At the time of the study, the average age of the residents was 27.8 years with 64.2 per cent within the 18-25 year range. The average age of the institutional staff was

39.3 years. Most of the residents were single; most of the staff were married (p.40). The average length of sentence was 9.8 months. By examining the criminal records of the residents, the researchers found that 88.5 per cent had a previous criminal conviction, 65.1 per cent had been in prison before, 32.9 per cent had been on full parole before, and 23 per cent had been on Day Parole before (p.41). The length of Day Parole ranged from two weeks to eight months and the average length of Day Parole varied among the four institutions - 4.2 months at two of the institutions, 6.4 months at a third and 5.0 months at the fourth (p.41).

Of the 46 residents granted Day Parole or Employment TA's, the researchers found 51.4 per cent were working, 16.6 per cent were attending educational facilities, 6.6 per cent were taking vocational training, and 13.3 per cent were looking for work (p.42).

In terms of the objective of Day Parole, the researchers found the staff designated rehabilitation as the main objective while the residents most frequently indicated financial aspects (p.46). The categories available were Financial, Education, Family, Rehabilitation, Negative Statements towards Correctional System and Other. The researchers felt these differences reflected the different frames of reference of residents and staff. The residents were thought to see finances in terms of their immediate needs such as financial security, future employment or family support whereas the staff were thought to see the Day Parole

Program in terms of gradual return to society, learning personal responsibility and developing regular work or study habits (p.47).

In their survey of factors affecting eligibility, the researchers categorized the responses as Feasibility of Plan, Employment and Education, Type of crime and Record and Attitude of Applicant, Family and Community. They found that the residents believed eligibility was largely based on their own attitude. The correctional officials pointed less frequently to the resident's attitude and behavior within the institution and more frequently to items such as criminal record and type of crime. Again these differences were held to reflect differing frames of reference. Residents tended to view Day Parole as a reward and privilege based on proper attitude and behavior whereas correctional authorities were more concerned with factors such as risk and the community reaction to certain offenders (p.52). The authors conclude that the residents' emphasis on attitude and their apparent lack of concern for items such as previous record, type of crime or feasibility of plan reflects "the expectations placed on them by the staff members of the institution with whom they have a considerable amount of contact and who are concerned primarily with the elements of control within the institution" (p.102).

The selection and assessment procedures usually "required a resident to first obtain some initial information and then become involved in a formal interview regarding his interest in Day Parole" (p.54). The researchers found that the initial information about Day Parole was most frequently obtained from the Correction Officers who then directed the resident to the proper authorities. The institutions social service staff provided some initial information but were more involved in the formal assessment of the Day Parole application. The Parole Officers had limited initial contact but greater involvement later with formal assessment and recommendation (p.60). Staff and residents alike seemed to view the selection and assessment process in terms of the stage of the proceedings with which they were involved. The residents tended to pick out definite periods of time while the staff were reluctant to view the process so definitely (p.102).

By reviewing the documentation and actual paper work involved in a Day Parole application, the researchers found a variety of procedures and pieces of information upon which a recommendation for or against Day Parole is made (p.63). There were letters from family and friends; recommendations from Courts and Probation Reports; resident's application forms; reports from various parts of the correctional institution such as work supervisor, correction officer, classification officer, counsellors; psychologist; police reports; criminal record; and reports from the National Parole Service Officer. Applications could be channelled through institutional personnel or forwarded directly to the National Parole Board.

The researchers were not able to identify a clear delineation of roles regarding the supervison of Day Parolees (p.71). The institutional counsellors, administrators and correction officers were all involved in varying degrees and kinds of involvement. So too with the National Parole Service, "Although the National Parole Service at Winnipeg and Brandon had overriding authority over Day Parolees, they generally leave the day to day supervision up to institutional personnel" (p.71). The researchers found a noteable difference between correctional officials and residents over the issue of the availability of counselling or therapy services for day parolees, with residents reporting much less counselling available than the institutional staff felt existed (p.74). They were not able to offer an explanation for the variation other than to cite differing perceptions and definitions or bias due to the small number of respondents.

The authors conclude that "Basically counselling seems to be provided when required, without coercion, and at the request of the individual Day Parolee" (p.77).

All respondents reported that violations of Day Parole rules and regulations resulted in the Day Parole being revoked. In this regard, the residents were equally concerned about being back to the institution on time as well as their behavior in the community whereas the staff expressed more concern about the residents' behavior, not the time limitations (p.67).

The researchers report the residents were somewhat dissatisfied with the facilities available for sleeping and studying (p.90). These complaints seem to be the result of housing Day Parolees within an institution where security concerns are important.

"When discussing problems in financing the residents generally referred to control of their own money as a serious concern" (p.97), especially the initial lack of funds. The staff, too, were reported to be concerned with the initial lack of money.

The researchers observed a notable difference with respect to knowledge as to the difference between Day Parole and TA's as legal status. Most of the residents did not know of any difference between the terms other than in duration. TA's were generally issued for a shorter period than the period of Day Parole and TA's were used to initiate action for long range goals such as employment (p.136). The staff were well aware of the differences in function and source of authorization between Day Parole and TA (p.101).

The survey by Davies et al provides a general description of Day Parole in Manitoba and it illustrates the co-operation between the National Parole Board and Provincial correctional authorities in effecting a correctional strategy deemed worthwhile by both. This study represents the first effort to document the Day Parole Program in that Province. The survey did contribute to a better understanding of Day Parole especially in its efforts to survey inmates on Day Parole. Of particular note is the differing frameworks of reference on the part of staff and inmates as they view the Day Parole program.

The level of analysis of the responses and the relationships between variables was limited to the examination of percentage differences. As Anderson and Zelditch (1968: 138) point out, this method of analysis is strongly influenced by the relative frequency of the variables and the Manitoba study is particularly susceptible to this type of distortion. The Manitoba study is however, a valuable contribution to knowing and understanding Canadian Corrections through its narration as to the roles played by various parts in the operation of a Day Parole Program and an examination of some of the differences in perspective between inmates and staff.

In summary, Manitoba has combined its Day Parole and Temporary Absence Programs to provide a well established program of gradual release.

The Province of Ontario

Day Parole in Ontario

Table 2.2 has shown that Ontario has never made much use of Day Parole offered by the National Parole Board, with the slight exception of the year 1969.

Temporary Absence in Ontario

The main reason why Ontario has not relied very much on Day Parole is that for over sixty years, correctional officials in this Province have tended to use their own authority to daily release selected inmates into the community for educational or employment purposes.

Literature Review

Lavell (1926) provides the earliest account of Canada's first work-release program. Although the trend to Community Corrections, particularly gradual release, is often thought to be a contemporary phenomenon, Lavell's book is evidence that gradual release was a major concern at least in some correctional circles even before the 1920's. Lavell refers to the concern for innocent dependents of prisoners who should be saved suffering as much as possible (p.85). He mentions experiments, especially in the United States, where prisoners work for a fair wage and support their dependents, thereby lessening much undeserved punishment to innocent wives and families.

Lavell reports that inmates in Provincial institutions at that time were usually serving less than seven months, most were unskilled, many were undisciplined and untrained and they could not come anywhere near meeting the cost of their imprisonment (p.87).

Lavell then discusses the background to the Extra Mural Permit System in Ontario, a forerunner to its present Temporary Absence Program. In 1913, on an experimental basis, certain prison officials allowed selected inmates "outside during the day to work for neighboring farmers and paid the wages to the needy families" (p.87). At first, approval for this practice was obtained from the Provincial Secretary of the Government.

In 1916, amendments to the Federal Prisons and

Reformatories Act[22] "gave to the Lieutenant-Governor the right to order this legally as a policy and for some time a few prisoners were able to assist their families in this way" (p.87-88). A number of difficulties, such as accommodation, availability of jobs and increased responsibilities for the institution served to end this practice.

In its place came the 1920 Extra Mural Permit System where a commissioner was appointed to make recommendations to the Lieutenant-Governor for the granting of Extra Mural Permits to inmates. A period of five years was set to implement and evaluate the program. The scheme was designed mainly for men and in the first five years, 1,149 male inmates received Permits. Lavell describes the program this way:

> "Their offences were of all kinds. The commissioner placed some of them in the local gaol or other place of safe custody each night, and the inmate on permit was allowed outside each day to earn wages for his family. In a large number of cases the inmate was allowed to go home each night but had to be inside early every evening. A local custodian was appointed in each case who had legal powers of custody on behalf of the commissioner. Each inmate allowed a permit remained on the books of the institution and continued his status as an inmate subject to its rules, regulations and discipline so far as applicable" (p.90).

Lavell reports that with few exceptions the police, Courts and other citizens approved of the commissioner's actions. Most of those granted permits were married men with dependents who were cared for by municipalities, the Salvation Army and other agencies. Those on Permit took the burden of their dependents off the shoulders of the municipalities and others (p.90-91).

In discussing the Permit System in terms of lessened punishment and deterrent effect, Lavell points out that the System increases the punishment and deterrent effect in many cases in that it is easier for an offender to disappear from the community and serve his sentence than to return earlier to a community that knows he is under strict supervision (p.91).

Lavell reports that an inmate on Permit who committed new offences or escaped was deemed a failure and that the failure rate was less than five percent (p.92).

In 1926 a review of the first five years of operation was made and it was decided to continue the experiment.

Anderson (1957) also discusses Ontario's Extra Mural Permit System, 1913 to 1932. Using a historical and biographical approach, he relied on official records and the private writings of Dr. Alfred E. Lavell, the man who formalized and operated the Permit System almost singlehandedly. Anderson discusses Lavell's family background (his father was a Medical Doctor at the Kingston Penitentiary) and his early interest in penology (he was active in the Prisoner's Aid Group and was appointed a member of Ontario's Parole Commission in 1919) (Chapter I). The early history of Ontario's prison system, with its legal complexities (four separate laws dealing with the penal community) and its reliance on punishment, religious instruction, farm work and contract labor where the profits were for the benefit of society, is explored (Chapters II and III). Lavell challenged the old penal philosophy of treating all prisoners the same. He supported the idea of individual treatment where the prison experience was intended to render a prisoner fit for return to society. Lavell assumed responsibility for the Permit System in 1919 and saw it as a very good way of allowing individual treatment (Chapter IV).

Anderson credits the idea of the Permit System to Rev. W.F. Findlay, Superintendent of the Langstaff Prison Farm in 1913 (p.95). Concerned with the problems of prisoners' families, Findlay placed selected prisoners in the employ of local farmers and the wages were used to support the prisoners' family. For security reasons the prisoners returned nightly to the institution. This procedure was continued for the next seven years. It was very much a localized program and represented less than five per cent of the total prisoner population in Ontario during that time. The program was rather inefficient, informal, poorly recorded and suffered from a lack of clear policy guidelines and questionable legality.

When Lavell assumed responsibility for the program, he widened the Langstaff experiment to the whole Province. In an effort to clarify the uncertain authority of the Langstaff program, the Extra Mural Permit Act of 1921 was passed. Even though the Federal Department of Justice questionned the legality of the Act, Lavell worked out an informal "gentleman's agreement" with senior officials of the Justice Department enabling prisoners serving sentences for offences against Federal statutes to be considered provisionally eligible to participate in the Permit System (p.44). Participation meant the prisoner remained "on the books" of the institution and subject to its rules and regulations, even though some prisoners were allowed to stay at home each night. Other prisoners reported nightly to a local lock-up or to the volunteer custodial officers such as the local law enforcement personnel. Those prisoners not returning nightly to an institution were required to report twice a month to the governing Parole Commission. Their earnings were devoted to a specific purpose, agreed upon before hand by the prisoner and the Parole Commission (p.46).

In terms of selection, a prisoner was referred to the Commission. At first these referals came from the prisoner himself, his friends and family and from custodial officials. As the system gained credibility, the Courts and Police made referrals. Usually Lavell investigated the circumstances, made a decision and applied to the Commission for approval. It seems the official approval by the Commission was virtually automatic. Lavell put few of his policies on paper yet in his selection criteria he had a fairly definite frame of reference. Orientals, operators of disorderly houses, robbery, indecency, driving while intoxicated and others showing "fundamental weaknesses of character" were excluded. Female prisoners were not given a high priority - Lavell felt they frequently were either sub-normal or immoral but deserved a chance (p.59). Young offenders who he felt only needed a tast of prison and those serving relatively short sentences (usually more than three months but not long terms) were given serious consideration. In his decision - making process, Levell relied on information from the institution, the prisoner's former environment and a personal interview. He depended heavily on his personal estimation, conditioned to a degree by the moral attitude of the community toward certain crimes plus the inability or unwillingness of some prisoners to understand or abide by the regulations.

Anderson documents the opinion of the public regarding the Permit System. The Ontario Board of Parole initially resisted the System but gradually grew to support it. The Courts supported the System, thanks to Lavell's argument that it was not interfering with the sentence of the Court. To gain and maintain police support, Lavell would not grant a permit against their advice. The newspapers did not find the System sufficiently newsworthy and the general public was basically apathetic and unconcerned (p.72).

The matter of success and failure of the System was measured only in terms of safe custody. The concept of rehabilitation was side-stepped and treated only as a fringe benefit (p.74). A failure represented a prisoner who escaped or committed a new crime while out on the Permit.

Lavell was of the opinion that a person's conduct following his release from custody in no way reflected upon the success or failure of the Permit System. In the first five years of operation (1920-1925), a total of 1,183 prisoners (1,149 males and 34 females) were released. Thirty-six prisoners (thirty males and six females) escaped. Twenty prisoners (nineteen males and one female) committed new crimes. The overall failure rate was given at five per cent (three per cent for males and twenty per cent for females). The 1,149 male prisoners served a total of 101,739 days on their Permits, saved the public an estimated $100,000.00 in maintenance costs and paid $245,000.00 to themselves and their families. The total cost of the operation of the System was held to be $4,000.00 (p.77).

Anderson documents the struggle for power that occurred between those, like Lavell, who supported a "treatment" philosophy and those in higher civil service who favored a "get tough" policy. The year 1927 seems to be the turning point at which time the latter forces prevailed (p.79). The Board of Parole assumed many of Lavell's discretionary powers, new Board members were not as committed to the idea of the System as previous members, Permit failures were dramatized and rumors of corruption appeared. In January, 1932 Lavell was transferred to the position of Provincial Historian and by May of that year the Permit System ceased to operate (p.91).

Anderson concludes that the failure of the Permit

System was due in large part to Lavell's failure to delegate authority or to train a successor (p.92). Ironically, it is this feature, Lavell's singlehanded devotion to the idea, that was instrumental in its initiation and expansion. The benefits were assessed in security and financial terms - the community was not seriously endangered and it saved in the cost of maintaining a man and his family while he was in prison (p.97). Anderson argued that the Permit System could also operate (in 1957) with the emphasis on rehabilitation, with the extensive use of vocational training, using psychological and psychiatric factors in selection and the expanded use of after-care services for follow-up and guidance (p.102-104).

Anderson's study dealt with what appears to be the first Day Parole Program in Canada. Its operation ceased in 1932 largely due to the reappearance in policy-making circles of a "get tough" policy in so far as the handling of offenders was concerned[23]. This policy seems to have prevailed, at least in Ontario, until August, 1969, when an amendment[24] to the Federal Prisons and Reformatories Act allowed the release of Provincial prisoners for periods of time up to fifteen days for humanitarian reasons or rehabilitative purposes. The Province of Ontario immediately implemented a temporary absence scheme that provided a variety of ways to temporarily release sentenced prisoners in Provincial institutions. In this regard, the Program was "primarily concerned with providing prisoners with work or educational opportunities which it would be impractical to duplicate within the walls of the institution. The alternative procedure described are not conceived of as a substitute for probation or parole but are intended to be an additional selective resource for the correctional treatment of offenders". (Fox, 1971:51).

The basic structure of the present Ontario Temporary Absence Program allows an inmate to apply for a series of daily absences for work or educational purposes. Certain officials of the Ministry of Correctional Services are designated by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council to authorize the temporary absence of an inmate for medical or humanitarian reasons or to assist in his rehabilitation[25].

Facts and Figures

The Ministry of Correctional Services has gathered a series of statistics about their program[26]. Table 2.7 provides an overview of the use of TA's in Ontario since the Program began.

Table 2.7 reveals that the Correctional officials have been rather reluctant to grant applications for the six to fifteen day absence. They have approved slightly more than one-quarter of such applications while approving slightly more than one-half of the applications for other types of TA's. The completion rates are quite high for the Short Term and six to fifteen day applications, somewhat less for Employment TA applications and noteably lower for the Education absences. Educational absences had the highest revocation rates.

TABLE 2.7

TYPE, FREQUENCY, APPROVAL AND COMPLETION OF TEMPORARY ABSENCES IN ONTARIO, AUGUST, 1969 to JULY, 1974

Type of Temporary Absence	No. of Appli[illegible]ions Rec'd	No. of Applications Activated	Applications Withdrawn	Permits Revoked	Permits Completed
Educational (Academic and Vocational)	1518	803 (52.9%)	38 (4.7%)	117 (14.6%)	648 (80.7%)
Employment	3852	2152 (55.8%)	91 (2.4%)	137 (3.6%)	1924 (94%)
6-15 Days	1539	441 (28.7%)	6 (1.4%)	6 (1.4%)	429 (97.2%)
Short Term	34156	19818 (58%)	164 (0.8%)	55 (0.3%)	19599 (98.9%)
TOTAL	41065	23214 (56.5%)	299 (0.7%)	315 (0.8%)	22600 (98.5%)

Source: McFarlane (1974), Chart #2

On a more recent note, a total of 28,058 absences have been granted from August 26, 1969 to January 31, 1975. 27,129 were deemed to have completed the absence successfully - an overall success rate of 96.7 per cent. Four hundred and ninety-two (1.8 per cent) were revoked and 432 (1.5 per cent) were withdrawn for reasons such as termination of employment and less serious violations. From August 26, 1969 to January 31, 1975 the Ministry of Correctional Services have learned that 33 (0.11 per cent) inmates on TA were convicted of further criminal offences.

Since the program started operation, there has been a rather steady overall revocation rate despite the continuing rate of expansion. There is a noteable difference, however, in the revocation rates between long term absences such as employment and education and the short term absences. During the fiscal year 1973-1974, the revocation rate for educational absences was 13 per cent; for 1974-1975, the revocation rate was 7 per cent. The 1973-1974 revocation rate for employment TA's was 7 per cent; the 1974-1975 revocation rate was 5.1 per cent. For short term absences the revocation rate in 1973-1974 was 0.7 per cent and 0.6 per cent in 1974-1975. The Ministry is not too surprised at this finding and points to the longer time period of the Employment and Educational Absences in which persons may act out.

The Ministry has kept record of financial matters relative to certain periods of the Program. Table 2.8 presents this data.

TABLE 2.8

ESTIMATED EARNINGS AND PROBABLE DISBURSEMENTS OF ONTARIO INMATES ON EMPLOYMENT TA's, APRIL 1974 TO JANUARY 1975

MONTH	NO. ON WORK TA	ESTIMATED EARNINGS $	APPROXIMATE AVERAGE EARNINGS** $	ROOM AND BOARD	ESTIMATED FAMILY SUPPORT $
Apr. 74	195	72,419	371	5,105	21,896
May 74	210	90,089	429	6,008	29,243
June 74	226	85,913	380	5,286	30,059
July 74	235	74,663	318	8,051	29,496
Aug. 74	218	98,640	452	4,892	39,194
Sept. 74	259	88,901	343	3,362	25,148
Oct. 74	300	122,238	407	6,992	40,257
Nov. 74	257	95,768	373	5,473	29,938
Dec. 74	248	106,962	431	4,530	28,286
Jan. 75	282	102,529	364	4,844	30,536
TOTAL	997*	938,122	941	54,543	304,053

*During this period there were 1391 applications for Employment TA's; 997 were activated.
**Calculation: Estimated Earnings ÷ Number on Work TA.

Source: Reference Material, Temporary Absence Program

Table 2.8 indicates that the average earnings for an inmate on Employment TA at some time during the period examined would be about $941.00. The room and board deductions represent 5.8 per cent of the estimated earnings while the estimated family support represents approximately 32.4 per cent of the estimated earnings. This would seem to indicate that correctional officials and the men on employment TA with dependents make a considerable effort to contribute to the support of their families.

In addition to data about the financial aspects of employment TA's, it was possible to present some data about the employment aspects of these TA's. This is done in Table 2.9.

From Table 2.9 a number of conclusions can be drawn about the Employment TA Program. Figure 2.1 shows average numbers of days worked per man during the ten month period.

Figure 2.1 shows the range of average number of days worked per man per month to be from a low of 10.9 days to a high of 14.8 days, with an overall average for the period of 12.9 days worked per month. Based on a five-day work week, a calendar month of 30 days would have approximately 22 working days. Using these figures, it would appear that during the ten month period the men on Employment TA's worked only approximately 13 days out of a possible 22 days each month, or 59 per cent of the time available. Illness would account for some of the time not worked but an additional explanation would seem to be that there were many men on Employment TA's who were not able to locate or hold a job.

TABLE 2.9

EMPLOYMENT DATA OF ONTARIO INMATES
ON EMPLOYMENT TA's

MONTH	NO. ON WORK TA	MAN DAYS WORKED	AVERAGE NO. OF DAYS WORKED PER MAN*
Apr. 74	195	2,456	12.6
May 74	210	2,934	13.9
June 74	226	2,870	12.7
July 74	235	2,574	10.9
Aug. 74	218	3,099	14.2
Sept. 74	259	2,911	11.2
Oct. 74	300	3,963	13.2
Nov. 74	257	3,354	13.0
Dec. 74	248	3,685	14.8
Jan. 75	282	3,547	12.6
TOTAL	997	31,393	12.9

*Calculation: Man Days Worked ÷ Number of Men on Work TA

Source: Reference Material, Temporary Absence Program.

The data in Figure 2.1 lends itself to examination on a seasonal basis, despite the missing data from February and March. During the "warm" months (June, July, August, September and October) when there usually are more jobs available, the period's average number of days worked per man was 12.44 days. For the "cold" months (November, December, January, April and May) the average number of days worked per man was 13.38. Using a slightly different calendar arrangement, the period May to September had an average number of days worked per man of 12.58 while the period October to April had an average number of days worked per man of 13.24 days. While a clear-cut pattern is not in evidence in Figure 2.1, the mean calculations do show a slight trend indicating that men on Employment TA's tend to work more days in the winter season than in the summer season.

FIGURE 2.1

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS WORKED PER MAN
PER MONTH ON EMPLOYMENT TA IN ONTARIO,
APRIL, 1974 TO JANUARY, 1975

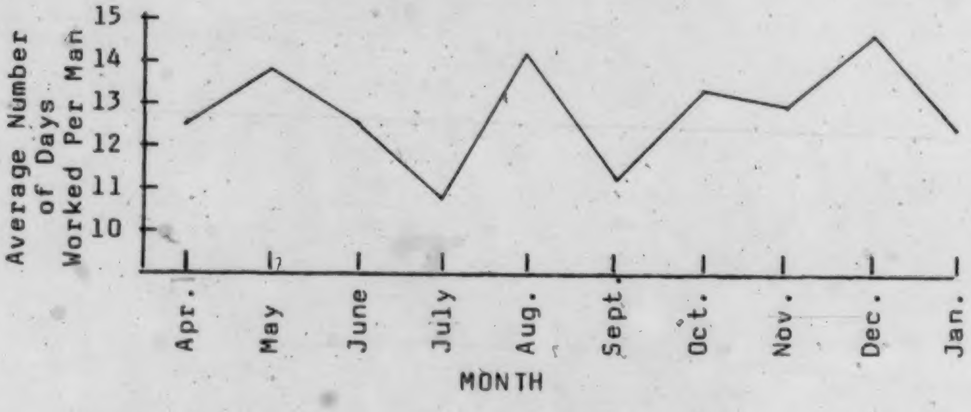


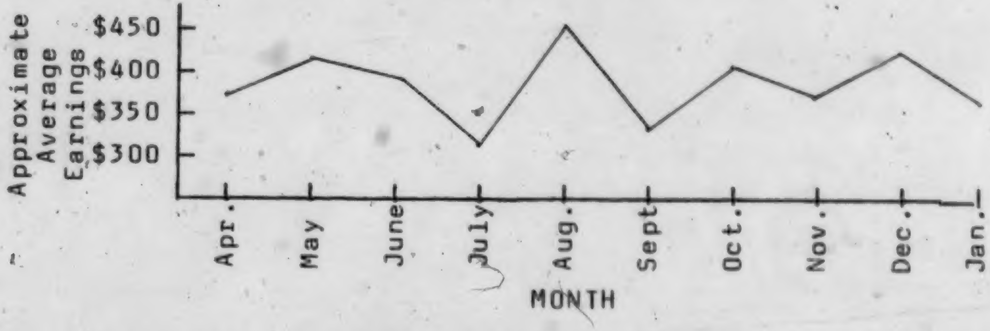
Figure 2.2 illustrates the approximate average monthly earnings of inmates on Employment TA during a ten month period.

Figure 2.2 shows the range of approximate average monthly earnings to be from $318 to $452, with an overall average for the period of $387. The period June to October has an average monthly earning of $380 while the period

November to May has an average monthly earning of $394. The period May to September shows an average monthly earning of $384 while the period October to April shows an average monthly earning of $389.

FIGURE 2.2

APPROXIMATE AVERAGE MONTHLY EARNINGS
OF ONTARIO INMATES ON EMPLOYMENT TA,
APRIL, 1974 TO JANUARY, 1975



The monthly estimated earnings ranged from $72,419.00 to $122,238.00 with an average of $93,812.00. The average for the period June to October was $94,071.00 while the November to April average was $93,553.00. The May to September average was $87,641.00 and the October to April average was $99,983.00. While Figures 2.1 and 2.2 do not show well-defined seasonal variations, the mean calculations plus the presentation of average estimated earnings in one manner above (May - September/October - April) indicate that on several measures of the employment situation encountered by men on Employment TA, they fare somewhat better during the winter season than during the summer season. This would seem to be opposite the expected situation of more work in the summer months than in the winter months. One possible explanation is that during the summer months, the labor market is flooded with students who are willing to take most any job for the summer, knowing they will be leaving it within a few months. Men who had been receiving Unemployment Insurance during the winter months may be more willing to work during the summer. Men in prison are often unskilled and have sporadic employment histories. When the competition for jobs is high, such as during the summer months, it seems that inmates on Employment TA come out "second best". In the winter, when the competition for jobs is less, inmates on Employment TA's appear to have a better chance to locate, secure, and hold a job[27].

From Table 2.9 a number of calculations can be made to arrive at certain statistics concerning the Employment TA's from April, 1974 to January, 1975. For example:

$$\frac{\text{Sum of Man Days Worked}}{\text{Activated Employment TA's}} = \text{Average Number of Days Worked}$$

$$\frac{31{,}393}{997} = 31.4 \text{ days}$$

On the average, an inmate on Employment TA worked 31 days during the duration of his absence.

$$\frac{\text{Average No. of Days Worked During Absence}}{\text{Average No. of Days Worked Each Month}} = \text{Average Length of Employment TA}$$

$$\frac{31.4 \text{ days/TA}}{12.9 \text{ days/month}} = 2.43 \text{ months}$$

The average length of time an inmate was on Employment Temporary Absence was 2.43 months.

$$\frac{\text{Total Estimated Earnings}}{\text{Number of Activated Employment TA's}} = \text{Approximate Average Earnings of Inmates on Employment TA}$$

$$\frac{\$938{,}122.00}{997} = \$941.00$$

The approximate average earning of the inmates on Employment TA from April, 1974 to January, 1975 was $941.00.

$$\frac{\text{Average Earnings}}{\text{Average Number of Days Worked}} = \text{Average Daily Earnings}$$

$$\frac{\$941.00}{31.4 \text{ days}} = \$30.00 \text{ per day}$$

On the average, the inmates on Employment TA from April, 1974 to January, 1975 earned $30.00 per day. Based on a working day of eight hours, the inmates earned an average of $3.75 per hour.

To get some idea of the importance attached to the matter of family support, it is assumed that fifty-seven per cent of those on Employment TA (N=568) had dependents[28]. On the average then, they would each have contributed $535.00 to the support of their families. Given the fact that the approximate average earning was found to be $941.00, it would appear that the Ontario Correctional authorities placed a great deal of emphasis on this issue.

Research Studies

In addition to the statistical information maintained by the Ministry, there have been a number of studies directed at Ontario Temporary Absence Program.

Fox (1971) examined certain aspects of the Ontario TA Program during its first twelve months of operation and he paid special attention to the first one hundred and seventy-five applicants. He found that the Head Office Committee overruled the recommendations of the institutional committees in 8.6 per cent of all applications. In each case an approved application was rejected. The Deputy Minister confirmed all Head Office Committee recommendations (p.53). The time elapsed from application to decision ranged from one to fifty-seven days with a mean of thirteen days (p.53). Fox reports that of all the applications for work and educational release, 51.4 per cent were approved, with 52.2 per cent of the education applications approved and 47.8 per cent of the work applications approved (p.53-54).

In terms of selection, the rules governing applications indicated that applicants with a history of violence, brutality, arson, extensive drug use or alcoholism, sex offence or an escape record would normally not be given serious consideration. Fox found, however, that depending on these restricted categories between four per cent and nine per cent of all approved applications had such a history (p.54-55). The average age for work-release applicants was thirty-one years while the average age for education release applicants was twenty-two years. Three-quarters of the work-release applicants were married and three-quarters of the education release applicants were single. "There was no significant difference in marital status or average age between those whose applications were accepted and those who were rejected. Nor were there substantial differences in average length of sentence to be served" (p.54).

Fox was able to examine the file sheets kept by the committees in considering the applications. He classified the most frequently given reasons for decision and concluded that

> "acceptance or rejection largely turns upon a favorable or unfavorable assessment (in the very broadest terms) of the applicant's personality, or upon a simple affirmation that the programme is or is not likely to benefit him". (p.55)

At that early stage of the implementation of the Program, the criteria for selection and rejection seemed to be ill-defined and variable between the committee members.

In terms of the daily routine of inmates on Employment and/or Education TA's, Fox reports that the participants leave the institution at times determined by the nature of their particular work or educational setting. They usually go by public transit busses and take a lunch plus a small spending allowance. Use of or possession of alcohol or drugs is prohibited and operating motor vehicles is not usually permitted. Upon returning to the institution, the prisoners are stripped and searched (p.57).

The average period of participation for those on educational leave was fourteen weeks and nine weeks for those on work-release. At the end of the study period, Fox found that 84 per cent of all those on educational leave and work-release had successfully completed or were still in the program. 5.5 per cent were revoked for misconduct either in the community or in the institution and ten per cent did not participate even though their applications had been approved (p.57).

The first thirty-seven prisoners on work-release from August, 1969 to June, 1970 earned a total of $20,618.00, with the average being $557.00 per man. The range of earnings was $30.00 to $2,391.00. Fox found that 39 per cent of the earnings were used for room and board, 13 per cent for expenses such as lunch and transportation, 29 per cent for the support of dependents, 1 per cent towards debts and 18 per cent to the inmate on release (p.59).

Fox reports that the majority of the prisoners on work-release were unskilled or semi-skilled, with only 10 per cent in the managerial or professional occupation categories (p.59).

Of the 44 active education leaves, 41 per cent were enrolled in vocational training courses sponsored by the Federal Department of Manpower, 36 per cent in high school and 14 per cent at University (p.59).

Fox feels that "the decision to introduce educational and work-release was born of economic considerations and a general concern to mitigate the sterility of prison life" and he concludes that the program is "a further example of the truism that the implementation, continuation or abandonment of innovative correctional programmes is still primarily determined by political or economic factors and the emotional reaction which we choose to call humanitarianism" (p.61).

Other researchers have examined Ontario's Temporary Absence Program. The study by Hug (1969) is apparently out of print and Currie (1973) dealt only with the short term absences.

Crispino (1974) examined the benefits accrued as a consequence of participation on the employment Temporary Absence Program. "Benefits were looked at in the areas of employment, finances, social relationships and roles, and post-release criminality" (p.1). Crispino collected file data and conducted semi-structured interviews with fifty-four men. Twenty-nine of these men were on the Employment TA while the remaining twenty-five had successfully completed their sentence and were interviewed after their release.

In terms of the employment benefits, 78 per cent of those who had been working just prior to incarceration had this same job while on TA. 81 per cent of those who had previous work experience had the same or a similar job while on TA (p.10). A review of the types of jobs before and while on TA revealed that three-quarters were non-laboring jobs and that the Program did not cater to a select few in the white-collar, skilled categories (p.11). 85 per cent remained in the same occupational category as before sentence and 15 per cent changed category to a less skilled category. Crispino concludes:

> "While the T.A.P. can help in sustaining some kind of job stability for those continuing at their regular jobs while on the Program, at the same time it appears that it tends not to offer advanced employment possibilities for those participants engaging in new jobs while on the T.A.P." (p.12).

Another benefit concerned whether participants on TA continued with their jobs after release. From the post-release group, it was learned that 96 per cent continued working at the same job after release. At an average period of five and one half weeks after discharge, 92 per cent were working. A total of 64 per cent had the same job before, during and after T.A.P. (p.13-14).

In terms of the financial benefits, the participants cited financial considerations most frequently as the reason for wanting to go to TA. Fifty-seven per cent of the sample were married; 48 per cent had at least one child. The average weekly gross income for those with the same/similar job on T.A.P. as before was $160.00. Those on a different job earned an average of $114.00 per week. The average length of participation on T.A.P. was 10.2 weeks and each man contributed roughly $204.00 for room and board (p.15). Of the total sample, 46 per cent sent money home, 63 per cent put money into savings, and 11 per cent made weekly payments on existing debts (p.16). Fifty per cent of the families were totally dependent on the earnings of the T.A.P. participants (p.18). Seventy per cent of the men were able to pay off at least some of their debts while on the program (p.19). Twelve of the participants' families were receiving public assistance before going on TA. Only two remained so once the TA was activated and none of the families of the post-release group were on welfare after the inmates release (p.20).

In terms of savings, the amount ranged from $18.00

to $2,000.00 with the modal category of $200.00 to $500.00. At least half of the post-release group used their savings to pay off bills once they were released (p.20).

Looking at the roles and relationships of the participants, it was found that fifty per cent of the men cited "social" reasons for going on TA. Of concern to the men was keeping up with family and friend relationships. The men reported T.A.P. helped to boost family morale and provided a continuity of the inmate's normal key family roles and responsibilities. Forty-five per cent of the men felt their family relationships had grown stronger since being on T.A.P. Ninety-eight per cent said they gained in terms of positive personal feelings, 47 per cent felt T.A.P. made it easier to get back into society and 19 per cent felt they avoided many of the negative influences of prisons by being on T.A.P. (p.21-23).

In terms of post-release criminality, Crispino checked inmate files and R.C.M.P. reports. In a two to three month follow-up period of 40 participants, only one man had re-offended. He was fined for a drug offence. At a period of 7½ to 8½ months after discharge, a total of 69 participants were checked. It was found there were no new convictions in addition to the one mentioned above. Crispino suggests that while the issue of recidivism and work TA vs non-participants remains to be decided conclusively, there is some evidence here indicating recidivism is lower (p.24).

Crispino surveyed the participant's perceptions of positive and negative aspects of the T.A.P. The positive factors identified were the privileges and facilities that go with being on TA, the ability to keep in touch with society, the ability to hold a job and financial benefits (p.25). The most frequently identified negative aspect was the view that the staff, especially the custodial staff, were not behind the concept of TA. "Participants preceived a resentment by the staff for the fact that inmates were allowed to go to work" (p.29). As well, 92 per cent of the inmates indicated that T.A.P. was not an easy way "to do time" - in fact, it is a harder way (p.30).

Crispino then offered a number of comments and recommendations as to the direction of future operations of the Program and related research possibilities.

In summary, Ontario has made a noteable effort to operationalize the concept of gradual release. It has relied extensively on its own Temporary Absence Program rather than on National Day Parole. Ontario has offered its program to the scrutiny of researchers and has developed what appears to be the most sophisticated T.A. program in Canada.

The Province of Quebec

Day Parole in Quebec

Table 2.2 has shown that Quebec has not made much use of Day Parole. In fact, only five per cent of all Day Paroles issued from Provincial institutions were to prisoners in Quebec. The use of Day Parole reached a peak in 1971 and has declined a great deal since then.

Temporary Absence in Quebec[29]

The organization of Provincial Corrections in Quebec is outlined in the Probation and Houses of Detention Act[30]. The Director General of the Justice Department's Probation and Houses of Detention Service is authorized to "establish programs enabling the persons imprisoned in any house of detention that he indicates to engage in regular employment or to follow courses outside the establishment, or to carry on any other activity calculated to promote the social rehabilitation of such persons". (Section 19) In addition, the Director General may authorize temporary absences for medical, humanitarian or rehabilitative reasons[31].

Table 2.10 illustrates the use of Temporary Absences in Quebec in recent years.

TABLE 2.10

TEMPORARY ABSENCES AND COMPLETION RATES
BY YEAR IN QUEBEC

YEAR	NUMBER OF TA's	NUMBER AND PER CENT CANCELLED	SUCCESS RATE	REASON FOR CANCELLATION
1972	1,388	18 (1.3%)	98.7%	Technical Violation
1973	1,205	26 (2.1%)	97.9%	Technical Violation
1974	2,246	34 (1.5%)	98.5%	Technical Violation
TOTAL	4,839	78 (1.6%)	98.4%	

Source: Letter dated July 28, 1975 from the Quebec Department of Justice

Correctional officials in Quebec report that none of the inmates were known to have committed criminal offences while on TA[32].

In summary, correctional officials in Quebec seem to have relied almost exclusively on the releasing provisions of provincial legislation rather than on National Day Parole.

The Province of New Brunswick

Day Parole in New Brunswick

Table 2.2 indicated that except for a limited number of Day Paroles in 1968 and 1969, correctional officials in that Province have made very little use of the temporary releasing authority of the National Parole Board.

Temporary Absence in New Brunswick[33]

Information about Temporary Absence in New Brunswick is not available.

The Province of Nova Scotia

Day Parole in Nova Scotia

The use of Day Parole by correctional officials in Nova Scotia represents the third largest Day Parole Program in Canada (Table 2.2). The use of Day Parole peaked in 1971 and has since declined somewhat.

Jobson (1968) describes the sentencing process in a case in Magistrate's Court at Dartmouth, Nova Scotia where a responsible and dependable laborer with a large family pleaded guilty to the theft of a large sum of money. The Judge felt a fine would impose unnecessary hardship on the man's family and that the offence was a serious one. The court apparently felt that the man was not a security risk and probably would not offend again. As a result,

> "Contacts were established with Smith's employer and with the regional National Parole Officer. The employer agreed to keep Smith on if a Day Parole could be obtained. The regional officer for the National Parole Board satisfied himself that the case probably a proper one for Day Parole. Accordingly, Smith was sentenced to the regional jail for fifteen days, and within two days, the Ottawa office of the National Parole Board had granted a temporary parole certificate that permitted Smith to leave the institution with or without escort at the discretion and choice of the custodian for whatever period or periods of time and for whatever reason or reasons the custodian would consider advisable." (p.333)[34]

Temporary Absence in Nova Scotia[35]

The Minister or his delegate have been empowered to authorize temporary absences in Nova Scotia[36]. All sentenced inmates in the Province's seventeen jails and correctional institutions are eligible to be released under the TA program. Most of the day release programs operate from four institutions. Selection is done through a Classification Committee, comprised of a Classification Officer, a Correction Officer, an Adult Probation Officer and additional members depending on the institution. The program is administered by the Administrator of Inmate Programs in Central Office. Once an application is received, it is reviewed by the Administrator.

The Temporary Absence Program has been on the books since 1970, but it was rarely used prior to 1973. Since that time the use of TA's has steadily grown. From June 1 to 18, 1975, there were 57 inmates on Temporary Absence. Of this number 37 (64.9%) were employed and 20 (35.1%) were released for medical and/or humanitarian reasons. The overall failure rate is reported to be below two per cent.

In summary, it seems Nova Scotia has combined the releasing provisions of the Parole Act and the Provincial correctional legislation to implement a program of gradual release.

The Province of Prince Edward Island

Day Parole in Prince Edward Island

Less than two per cent of all Day Paroles granted to Provincial prisoners were issued to inmates in Prince Edward Island (Table 2.2). The only discernable pattern is a gradual increase followed by a gradual decrease in the number of Day Paroles issued.

Temporary Absence in Prince Edward Island[37]

Under the Probation Act (1972)[38] the Probation Service is responsible for the administration of a Temporary Absence Program, as authorized by the Federal Prisons and Reformatories Act. Table 2.11 outlines the use of Temporary Absences in Prince Edward Island.

Table 2.11 indicates the use of TA's for employment and educational purposes has not changed greatly over the time period for which data is available. The most noteable feature, however, is the increased use of TA's allowing inmates to take part in alcohol treatment programs in the community.

For inmates serving less than three months, Provincial correctional officials prefer the one to fifteen day TA authority pursuant to the Prisons and Reformatories Act to release selected inmates to the community. The preferred process to release inmates serving more than three months is via Day Parole, courtesy of the National Parole Board. When an inmate applies for a Temporary Absence, a Probation Officer conducts a social/community investigation wherever possible and makes a recommendation to the Deputy Minister of Justice for final decision.

TABLE 2.11

TEMPORARY ABSENCES GRANTED IN
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1973 AND 1974

			TYPE OF TEMPORARY ABSENCE								
YEAR	Employment		Education		Medical		Humanitarian		Alcohol Treatment		TOTAL
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	
1973	33	57.9	5	8.8	8*	14.0	11	19.3	NK	NK	57
1974	48	49.0	6	6.1	3	3.1	15	15.3	26	26.5	98**

*Included here are TA's for alcohol treatment, number unknown

**98 individuals took part in a total of 105 TA's, thus indicating some inmates received more than one TA.

Source: 1973 Annual Report of the Department of Justice (p.19) and a 1974 review of the Probation Services.

In summary, Prince Edward Island appears to have initially relied on Day Parole to get an inmate back into the community. Since 1972, however, this province has turned to using its own Temporary Absences for this purpose.

The Province of Newfoundland

Day Parole in Newfoundland

Table 2.2 indicates that there was some initial interest in Day Parole in 1968 and 1969, however this interest quickly waned.

Temporary Absence in Newfoundland

Newfoundland does not have any Temporary Absence legislation[39] and does not appear to have made use of the provisions of the Prisons and Reformatories Act.

The Northwest Territories and the Yukon Territories

Day Parole in the Territories

As shown in Table 2.2, only six Day Parole Certificates have been issued in Canada's North. The Territories have made the least use of Day Parole from the National Parole Board.

Temporary Absence in the Northwest Territories[40]

The Northwest Territories' Temporary Absence Program operates under the privisions of Corrections Ordinance, 1973. Section 33 (3) of the Corrections Ordinance authorizes the Chief of Corrections to release an inmate from a correctional center for up to fifteen days to participate in a correctional extension program such as approved employment or educational activity. Every inmate has the right to apply to participate in an extension program[41]. An inmate's earnings, less deductions required by law, may be required to be sent by the employer to the correctional center[42].

Disbursements of these earnings are handled by the center in the priority of:

1. Food, lodging and travel
2. Restitution ordered by the Court
3. Family support
4. To the inmate upon release[43]

The only statistical information available about the extent of Temporary Absences is contained in Table 2.12.

TABLE 2.12

INMATES RELEASED ON WORK RELEASE IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

	TYPE OF ABSENCE		
YEAR	Employment	Education	TOTAL
1968-69	NK	NK	17
1969-70	23 (95.8%)	1 (4.2%)	24

Source: Jubinville (1971:102)

Table 2.12 indicates that the Northwest Territories have made use of TA's for employment and educational purposes. More recent data was not available.

Temporary Absence in the Yukon Territory[44]

Authority to grant Temporary Absences in the Yukon rests with the Director of Corrections[45]. Participants continue to be subject to the rules and regulations of the institution and all earnings, less any deductions required by law, are remitted to the institution's director[46]. Absences have been granted for inmates to secure or retain employment and to attend academic, vocational or technical training courses. Correctional officials report that recidivism rates are very low and that the program has not been extensively used due to a shortage of employers wishing to involve themselves.

During the 1973-1974 fiscal year, 10 inmates were granted temporary absences, with 6 attending a vocational center, 2 attending high school and 2 working in the community.

In summary, Day Parole has not been used to any great extent in the Yukon Territory and Correctional officials have placed more reliance on Temporary Absences.

Summary of Day Parole and Temporary Absence in Canada

A number of general patterns are discernable concerning Day Parole and Temporary Absence. On a national basis, there was a gradual increase in the use of Temporary/Day Parole by the National Parole Board from 1960 to 1967. Day Paroles expanded noticeably in 1968 and peaked in 1971. Since then there has been a steady decline in the use of Day Parole for inmates in Provincial institutions.

The use of Day Parole by each Province varied greatly, from Alberta, which made the most use of Day Parole to Ontario, which made very little use of Day Parole from Ottawa. Ontario, in turn, relied on its own Temporary Absence Program to implement the concept of gradual release whereas Alberta made very little of Temporary Absences for the purpose of employment or education.

In all Provinces, correctional officials initially made use of Day Parole to release inmates to community-based activities however, as the Provinces developed their own Temporary Absence Programs, the use of Day Parole in the Provinces has declined. This would seem to indicate a trend in the future whereby Provincial Temporary Absence Programs will likely replace the National Parole Board's Day Parole Program.

Information about Day Parole/Temporary Absences is not generally kept in an organized fashion, if at all. Ontario has by far the most complex Temporary Absence Program and it has attempted to collect facts and figures about its operation. Undoubtedly within the various institutions and offices of other Provincial correctional services, there exists a wealth of data about their Temporary Absence Programs. It would appear, however, that most Provincial correctional services have made little effort to systematically collect data about their Temporary Absence Programs. It would appear too that there has been very little interest in Day Parole/Temporary Absence Programs in Canada on the part of social scientists and researchers.

FOOTNOTES

1 See, for example, Fox, 1971 (Australia), Wiklund, 1967 (Sweden), Verin, 1967 and Grupp and Verin, 1968 (France), Halvorsen, 1967 (Norway) and Waaben, 1967 (Denmark).

2 For example, see Brautigam, (1972), Powers (1958), Root (1972), Sloane (1967), McMillan (1965), Grupp (1967 (b)), Carpenter (1969), Case (1966), and Anderson (1964).

3 For example, see Ayer (1973), Doleschal (1971), Goldfarb and Singer (1973), Grupp (1963, 1965, 1967), Johnson (1970 (a), 1970 (b)) and Root (1970).

4 For example, see Zalba (1967), Rudoff et al (1969), Johnson (1967, 1970 (a)) and Grupp (1970).

5 A good example of this attitude is contained in the Annual Report, 1972, Corrections Branch, Alberta Attorney-General prepared by the Correction Services Director:

> "Inmate statistical records maintained in this correctional system are restricted to those required by Statistics Canada for inclusion in national statistical reports. Whenever a recurring need for statistical data required for sociological studies or planning needs appears these are included; however it is not practical to maintain statistics to meet occassional demands for obscure facts of fleeting interest to special interest groups" (p.148).

6 R.S.C. 1968-69, c.38, s.94.

7 R.S.C. 1968-69, c.38, s.110.

8 The information for this part of the Study is based on a package of materials received by the Author from the Corrections Branch in June, 1975. The various materials include the legislation, regulations, policies, procedures, guidelines, formal structure, newsreleases, annual and other reports, minutes of meetings and memorandi relative to the British Columbia Temporary Absence Program.

9 British Columbia Corrections Act, s.22.

10 Ibid, s.23 (1).

11 Ibid, s.23 (2).

12 Bowden was purchased by the Federal Government in March, 1974 and is now a penitentiary.

13 R.S.A. 1970, c.23, s.1.

14 Alberta Reg. 359/71, Order-in-Council 2065/71.

15 1967, c.64, s.1.

16 In reply to the author's written request for information about Day Parole/work-release in Manitoba, an official of the Corrections Branch replied "In Manitoba we apparently differ from the majority of other Provinces in that we generally do not use Temporary Absences for Work Release activities - hence we have no published reports or material which would be of any benefit in your area of research".

17 c.12, s.1.

18 s.33 (1).

19 s.42.

20 Corrections Act, 1970, c.64.

21 s.33 (2).

22 R.S.C., c.183, s.9

23 McFarlane (1974:8) also points out "the rise and demise of that program seems to be clearly associated with the failure of authorities to allow for the development of related, but relatively separate and distinct administrative structures, criteria, and controls for persons who were selected and approved for work permits."

24 R.S.C. 1968-69, c.38, s.110.

25 The Ministry of Correctional Services Act, R.S.O. 1970, c.110, s.18; 1972, c.1, s.1.

26 The following information is taken from McFarlane (1974) and an unpublished report entitled "Reference Material, Temporary Absence Program" dated March 10, 1975.

27 During the author's employment at Alberta's largest Day Parole Center from February to December, 1975, he observed that men on Day Parole during the summer months seemed to have more difficulty securing employment than those on Day Parole during the colder months. This observation would lend support to the Ontario data.

28 Crispino (1974) studied Ontario's Temporary Absence Program at about this same time and he found fifty-seven per cent of his sample to be married (p.15).

29 Information for this part of the Study is based on a letter and a handbook outlining the legislation and regulations relative to Probation Services and Houses of Detention in Quebec received in July, 1975 from the Associate Deputy-Minister, Justice Department, Government of Quebec.

30 Quebec Statutes, 1969, c.21.

31 Ibid, s.20.

32 This claim appears to be very unrealistic. That nearly five thousand inmates on Temporary Absence would be completely law-biding would be impossible. Ontario's known offence rate is 0.11 per cent and as will be seen later in this Study, Alberta's known offence rate while on Day Parole is 0.7%. These rates are most likely to be poor indicators of all violations that occur on Day Parole or Temporary Absence. They may, however, reflect more accurately the known offence rate for serious offences.

33 In a letter dated July 31, 1975, the Supervisor of Programs, Correctional Services Division, Department of Justice reports "I must advise that the Department is not in a position to provide you with the kind of data and descriptive material which you request. Such information has not yet been compiled in an organized fashion". In addition, two written requests to the Moncton Parole Service Office failed to generate even a reply.

34 In addition to reporting this case, Jobson concludes that the administrative granting of work-release/day parole could be speeded up enormously by giving local correctional officials and the Courts authority to grant such absences.

35 Information for this part of the Study is based on a letter dated July 17, 1975 from the Staff Training and Development Officer, Adult Probation Service, Department of the Attorney-General.

36 Court and Penal Institutions Act, 1970, c.36, s.2.

37 Information for this part of the Study is based on a package of materials provided by the Director of Probation and Family Court Services, Department of Justice, Government of Prince Edward Island in March, 1975. The various materials include a letter, the Department's 1973 Annual Report and a 1974 review of the Probation Service.

38 1972, c.39, s.1.

39 Corrections Act, 1953, c.62, s.1 and subsequent legislation. According to an official of the Department of Social Services in a letter dated March 11, 1975, the Province has not instituted a Day Parole Program nor was he aware of any immediate plans to do so.

40 Information for this part of the Study is based on a package of materials received in March, 1975 from the Department of Social Development Government of the Northwest Territories. The various materials include a letter and three reports reviewing Corrections in the Northwest Territories.

41 Northwest Territories Corrections Ordinance, s.34 (1).

42 Ibid, s.35.

43 Ibid, s.36.

44 Information for this part of the Study is based on a package of material consisting of a letter and 1973-1974 Annual Report of the Corrections Branch received in March, 1975 from the Department of Health, Welfare and Rehabilitation, Government of the Yukon Territory.

45 Yukon Territory Corrections Ordinance, 1973, c.2, s.8 (2).

46 Ibid, s.8 (3).

CHAPTER III

DAY PAROLE AT BELMONT

Introduction

Purpose

The purpose of this part of the Study is to describe Day Parole at Belmont. It is an attempt to document some of the factors involved in the selection of Day Parolees and the administration of the Program.

Method of Data Collection

The data for this part of the Study was collected by the author in a series of interviews with Program officials. A series of meetings were attended where it was decided who would be recommended for Day Parole. In addition, the author's personal knowledge of the Program is added to the overall description. Guidance and direction in the selection and collection of the data came mainly from a series of research questions.

Presentation of the Findings

The data is presented mainly in narrative form. Whenever possible, tables and descriptive statistics such as per cent are used.

The Setting

In Chapter Two the overall use of Day Parole in Canada and Alberta was examined as well as the use of Day Parole in the northern part of the Province in particular. In this region the key center in terms of Day Parole was found to be the Belmont Rehabilitation Center. Before looking in detail at Day Parole at Belmont, it is important to consider the general setting in which Belmont operates.

The setting for this Study is Edmonton, Alberta, Capital City of the Province and the financial, business, social, political and population center in the northern half of the Province. This Study examines a Day Parole program that operates through the combined efforts of the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution, the Belmont Rehabilitation Center, and the Edmonton Parole Service Office. While the Study concentrates on the Center, it is important to know something about The Fort and the Parole Office.

Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution

The Fort is called upon to play a dual, and yet often contradictory, role of providing maximum security facilities for some prisoners and minimum security facilities for others. Given these demands of a security nature plus the increased use of social services such as counselling and community-based activities such as passes to promote "rehabilitation", and the rather old facilities in which to meet these demands, correctional officials have concluded:

> "Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution is a very badly designed and poorly constructed institution which is difficult to maintain, uneconomical to operate and does not provide adequately for good treatment facilities. It is in a badly run down condition and will require a major maintenance program to bring it up to an acceptable standard."
> (Annual Report of the Corrections Branch, 1972:25)

From 1959 to 1972 the daily average male population at the Institution generally ranged between 400 and 500 inmates[1]. In 1975, major renovations were undertaken at The Fort to upgrade its security facilities.

Edmonton Parole Service Office

The National Parole Service established its first office in Alberta at Edmonton in 1961. This office is presently responsible for all matters within the jurisdiction of the Parole Act in central and northern Alberta as well as the entire Northwest Territories (primarily the correctional facility at Yellowknife). The Parole Officers make regular trips to each institution and some of the forestry camps in the region. At least one Parole Officer is in daily contact with correctional officials at the Institution and the Center. By 1975, the Edmonton Parole Service had expanded to include a staff of eighteen Parole Officers.

Belmont Rehabilitation Center

The Center is located on the northeast outskirts of the City of Edmonton, and for many years it stood alone in the midst of small farming operations. By 1974, however, modern residential sub-divisions had stretched from the City and new houses were being constructed just across the road from the Center. By the end of 1976, it is expected the Center will be surrounded on three sides by new residential developments. Modern urban services, such as schools, bus routes and eventually a rapid transit line are planned for the immediate vicinity.

The Center opened in 1954 as an open institution for the treatment of offenders with alcohol problems. Early promotional material referred to the "many victims of alcoholism who were trapped in a vicious circle of drunkenness, jail, release, drunkenness, and return to jail" (updated pamphlet, probably before 1958). The Center was heralded as a daring social experiment in the rehabilitation of prisoners with alcohol problems and it was believed to be the largest establishment of its kind in North America at the time.

The Alcohol Treatment Program was organized around the Twelve Steps of Alcoholics Anonymous. It consisted of a series of lectures, tapes, recordings and discussions focusing on the physical, social and emotional aspects of alcoholism. Inmates were required to attend AA meetings conducted at the Center by AA members from the City. Some inmates were permitted to attend AA meetings in Edmonton. In addition to these sessions focusing on alcoholism, the inmates took part in group and individual counselling sessions dealing with a variety of concerns such as employment, family relationships, and personal matters.

For many years the responsibility for the presentation of the Program rested with the Alcohol Foundation and, later, the Division of Alcoholism. These were Provincial Government organizations that have since evolved into the present Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission. In addition to the Alcohol Treatment Program within the Center, the Foundation and the Division operated an outpatient clinic and a half-way house in Edmonton to which men leaving the Center upon the expiration of their sentence could be referred. By the late 1960's the Center had assumed responsibility for the Alcohol Treatment Program and the counselling sessions. These were to be conducted by Social Workers on staff at the Center.

As well as attending the alcohol and counselling sessions the inmates performed work assignments at various points in the institution such as building maintenance, kitchen help, working in the laundry or on the farm crew providing gardening, landscaping and vegetable growing services. In the early years of the Center the farm services also included the raising of hogs to help offset the cost of maintaining the Center.

At the present time the Center's complex includes the main building, gymnasium, greenhouses, laundry building and garage. The two-storey main building contains eight dormatories in which the inmates sleep, several administrative offices, a Control Room that monitors inmate movements, the kitchen and dining area and numerous rooms for various activities such as T.V., pool, religious services, lectures, studying, library, hobbies, weightlifting, music, meetings, staff lounge and storage facilities. In the basement of the main building are four cells that receive infrequent use. There are no bars on the windows and the inmates are free to be out-of-doors during certain hours each day with limited supervision from the staff. It is easy to escape from the Center should an inmate decide to do so.

The Center can accommodate 110 inmates and it has a staff, including administrative, correctional and social service, of about 60. The nearby Alberta Public Works shop provides men and equipment necessary for the operation of the Center's heating, electric and water systems, as well as painting, repair and construction activities.

Inmates are not sentenced or committed directly to the Center but must be transferred there from other correctional institutions. The decision to transfer inmates from one facility to another was made in the early years by a Prisoner Selection Committee that travelled regularly to each institution and assessed each application for transfer. With the formal creation of Classification Committees[2] in each institution, these groups took over the selection activities in relation to most inter-institutional transfers. Table 3.1 shows the source and number of inmates transferred to the Center in recent years.

As is clearly evident from Table 3.1, about four out of every five inmates transferred to the Center in recent years have come from The Fort. This is not surprising in that both institutions serve the same region in the Province so, the majority of the prisoners in these institutions are likely from the region. Prisoners in other institutions are likely to serve their sentences in the institution nearest their residence and therefore would not be inclined to be interested in a transfer away from their family and friends.

Since 1968 the daily average population at the Center has ranged from about 55 to about 110 inmates but it "has maintained a reasonably constant population level between 80 and 100 most months since 1968". (Annual Report, Corrections Branch, 1973:28).

By the Spring of 1975, when much of the data for this

TABLE 3.1

INMATES TRANSFERRED TO THE CENTER BY FISCAL YEAR AND INSTITUTION

YEAR	TRANSFERRING INSTITUTION						
	FT. SASK. C.I.	CALGARY C.I.	LETHBRIDGE C.I.	PEACE RIVER C.I.	BOWDEN C.I.	NORDEGG Forestry Camp	TOTAL
1969-70	324(79.4%)	42(10.3%)	16(3.9%)	3(0.7%)	13(3.2%)	10(2.5%)	408
1970-71	355(79.2%)	27(6.0%)	31(6.9%)	10(2.2%)	18(4.0%)	7(1.6%)	448
1971-72	359(88.6%)	9(2.2%)	15(3.7%)	7(1.7%)	12(3.0%)	3(0.7%)	405
1972-73	309(84.6%)	3(0.8%)	12(3.3%)	2(0.5%)	34(9.3%)	5(1.4%)	365
1973-74	343(78.3%)	1(0.2%)	29(6.6%)	11(2.5%)	51(11.6%)	3(0.7%)	438

Study was collected, the Center was in the process of officially abandoning the Alcohol Treatment Program and its reputation as an alcohol treatment center. New trends in Corrections were making their presence felt dramatically at the Center in 1975, just as the Center itself, with its orientation away from strict custody and towards the provision of "rehabilitative" alcoholism programs, represented a new trend of handling inmates in 1954. The trend in Corrections in the 1970's is Community Corrections, where the guiding philosophy is to deal with as many offenders as possible, including those who have been imprisoned, in the free community. Correctional officials noted that "As alcoholism treatment programs were introduced to the other institutions the case load at Belmont continued to reduce until at present the alcoholism program is a secondary function of the institution. Day Parole is gradually becoming the primary role at Belmont" (Annual Report, Corrections Branch, 1972:125).

By the end of 1975, the Center had become a Community Corrections Center. The Center's proximity to the employment and community-based resource potential in Edmonton plus its relative openness proved to be an important feature contributing to the change in the role of the Center from that of an alcohol treatment center to a community corrections center. The Center is now one to which inmates transferred from other correctional institutions can resume community-based activities via Day Parole Certificates or, as of late 1975, Temporary Absence Permits either from the Center or from their homes in the

Edmonton area but under the authority and supervision of the Center.

Selection of Day Parolees at The Fort

Research Questions

How do inmates get on Day Parole? How are they chosen? Who does the selection? What input is there to the granting of Day Parole? Where is the selection done? How long does it take?

In an effort to answer these research questions, the author obtained permission from the Director of Corrections, the Director of the Institution and the Director of the Center to attend a series of meetings at which certain inmates are considered for Day Parole. In addition to observing and recording some of what happened at the selection meetings, the author individually interviewed many of the correctional personnel who were instrumental in the selection of inmates for Day Parole. By observing the selection meetings (four at the Institution and four at the Center), the author was able to come to certain conclusions regarding the collective selection process for Day Parole. By examining the general context of the interviews with individual correctional officials who contribute to the selection of Day Parolees, the author was able to come to certain conclusions as to the individual approaches taken by the various officials in terms of the selection process.

The Role of The Fort

There are two important steps in the selection of Day Parolees at The Fort. One is a classification/selection meeting; the other is the approach taken by staff members whose job requires them to pass judgement on imates in terms of Day Parole.

The first formal proceeding in the selection of inmates for Day Parole is the weekly Classification Meeting held at The Fort. Here, representatives of the Institution, Center, Parole Service, Adult Probation, Canada Manpower and others meet to discuss the status of certain inmates using a case conference approach. A list is prepared in advance of the meeting and contains the names of the inmates to be discussed. An inmate could be discussed for a number of reasons: The Parole Officer may wish to know the conduct of an inmate who has applied for parole; Adult Probation may have some information about an inmate that was previously not available; The Fort may wish to advise the Parole Officer of recent developments as far as an inmate is concerned; the Canada Manpower representative may wish to advise the group of the nature of their contact with an inmate; and The Fort may wish to discuss the possibility of Day Parole for an inmate. Although it was not possible to learn the specific reason that an inmate was to be discussed prior to the meeting, it was clear after the meetings that the topic of Day Parole was involved in the vast majority of cases.

Basically what happens at the Institution Classification Meeting which is chaired by a Classification Officer is that any official having some knowledge about the inmate shares this with the others. Everyone adds their "two bits worth" and out of this comes a decision. This decision generally has to do with two matters - it may be to transfer the inmate to the Center pending a decision on the Day Parole application by the

National Parole Board and/or it may be to do with submitting a positive or negative recommendation to the Parole Board for inmates still at the Institution or one of the forestry camps.

The Role of the Parole Officer

A diversion is necessary at this point to review developments in 1974 that greatly changed the nature of the selection process for Day Parole as compared to the pre-1974 period. Up to 1974 the formal application for Day Parole was generally made by an official at the Institution on behalf of an inmate. The basic procedure was that the Institution would present the application for Day Parole to the Parole Officer at the Classification Meeting. This application contained the Institution's recommendation (usually positive). The Parole Officer then commenced an investigation which included the circumstances surrounding the commission of the offence, the inmate's criminal record, his conduct and behavior in the Institution, and his conduct and behavior "on the street". This information generally was obtained from Police Reports, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police - Finger Print Section, Institutional Assessments, Probation reports, previous Parole Service Files, and letters, telephone calls, or interviews with the sentencing Judge, parents, spouse, friends and/or employers. If the Classification Meeting's decision was to transfer the inmate to the Center for Treatment or Workparty, the Parole Officer obtained a report from the Center as to the inmate's conduct and the Center's recommendation in terms of the granting of Day Parole.

Following the completion of the Parole Officer's investigation, a report containing the results of the investigation together with the Parole Officer's recommendation was forwarded to the National Parole Board in Ottawa. The report was usually sent via Telex but written or telephoned reports were not uncommon.

In this selection process the National Parole Service usually offered a positive recommendation to the usually positive recommendation of the Institution or the Center. The basic guideline in terms of Day Parole for the Parole Service Officer was to cooperate with institutional officials and facilitate their goal of dealing with selected inmates in the community by processing and obtaining a Day Parole Certificate as soon as possible. The National Parole Board usually agreed with these positive recommendations and replied via Telex in an affirmative manner - Day Parole Granted[3].

The Importance of Institutional Personnel

The key in the selection process prior to 1974 was the Institutional Official with whom an inmate discussed the matter of Day Parole. This official generally was a Classification Officer, who would have interviewed the inmate within a matter of a week or so of the inmate's admission, or a Social Worker, to whose caseload the inmate would have been assigned for counselling and planning. From approximately 1971 to 1974 there were as many as two Classification Officers and four Social Workers at most to deal with 400-500 inmates.

Out of the discussions between the Classification Officers and Social Workers with the inmates came a Day Parole application from the Classification Officer or Social Worker. Usually if the Classification Officer considered the inmate to be "good Day Parole material", he would refer the inmate to the Social Worker for further assessment. The Social Worker could then bring up the question of Day Parole formally at the Classification Meeting. In many ways the Institution's Social Workers seemed to be the most influential in the early, informal selection process. The Social Workers were in a position to agree or refuse to discuss the matter of Day Parole beyond the confines of his discussions with an inmate. Institutional officials had a great deal of discretion when it came to deciding whether or not to follow the traditional procedure of applying for Day Parole on the inmate's behalf. Even if the Social Worker decided to pursue the matter of a Day Parole for an inmate, the Classification Committee represented another official body with a great deal of descretion. If, after its deliberations, it was not in favor of Day Parole for a particular inmate, the matter of Day Parole often died at that point.

But not in all cases. Some inmates were not content to accept the decision of a Social Worker or Classification Officer or the Classification Meeting in regards to their interest in Day Parole. One source to which some inmates turned was Alberta's Ombudsman[4] .

Intervention of the Ombudsman

A review of the index of the Annual Reports of the Ombudsman to the Provincial Legislature, 1967 to 1974, revealed that up to the 1970/71 Report there were no complaints received by the Ombudsman in regards to any aspect of Day Parole. The 1971/72 Report, however, identifies a total of six complaints in regards to inmates and Day Parole[5]. The Ombudsman reports that two of these complaints were abandoned, two were not justified and two were found to be not justified after an investigation.

The 1972-1973 Ombudsman's Report cites eight complaints in regards to Day Parole[6]. Of these complaints four were declined, two were not justified and two were investigated.

The 1973-1974 Ombudsman's Report cites only one complaint about Day Parole, but this complaint was to have a profound effect on Day Parole in Alberta. The case, 74 - 355/1-15[7], was found by the Ombudsman to be partially justified. An inmate in a Provincial Institution complained that he was denied Day Parole without first having his application forwarded to the National Parole Service. Upon investigation, the Ombudsman found that the procedure for obtaining Day Parole differed in the various institutions. In this particular case the inmate was given a local form which upon completion was reviewed by a classification committee. This committee either approves or denies the application. "If the request is denied by the classification committee the inmate is advised and the request form filled out is filed at the Institution. The inmate is told at the same time that he may still appeal for day parole to the National Parole Service, Ottawa" (p.68).

The Ombudsman recommended that the same policy and procedure be followed in all Provincial institutions. The Ombudsman was later advised by correctional officials that Day Parole application procedures would be standardized. In the future all inmates would complete the National Parole Service Form PS19 (Application for Parole), in triplicate, with the original to the National Parole Board in Ottawa, a copy to the regional National Parole Service Office and a copy of the application to remain on file at the institution. The recommendations of the Classification Committee would be forwarded to the National Parole Board.

As of the latter part of 1974, then, an inmate could apply on his own accord for Day Parole any time he wished directly to the granting authority, the National Parole Board. This resulted in a considerable change in the Day Parole Selection process. The Institutional officials and the Classification Committee had been divested of much of their discretionary powers and their role changed from partially a decision-making one to largely an advisory one in terms of Day Parole[8].

It was shortly after this change in the function of the Classification Meetings that the research into the selection of Day Parolees was conducted. Under the present selection process, the inmates discussed at the meetings had usually applied sometime previously to the National Parole Board for Day Parole. The Parole Officer would likely have interviewed the applicant or was about to interview him. The applicant's Social Worker/Counsellor probably had discussed the application with the inmate or was about to do so. The Institution-based Addiction Counsellors affiliated with the Alberta Alcohol and

Drug Abuse Commission likely had seen the applicant if it appeared there was a history of drug or alcohol abuse. The Probation Officer at the meeting would likely have a Pre-Sentence Report or previous Probation reports relative to the applicant. The representative of the Center, usually the Director, would have the applicant's previous file if he had been at the Center before. The goal of the Classification Meetings, then, was to arrive at a decision relative to the applicant's transfer to the Center and/or recommendation either favorable or unfavorable in terms of the inmate's application for Day Parole.

The Fort's Classification Meeting

Method of Data Collection

In order to gather data about the selection process for Day Parole, the author attended four consecutive selection meetings at the Institution. One meeting was in March 1975 and the remainder were held in April 1975. Permission to attend the meetings had been obtained from the Institution's Director and the author had advised several of the participants in advance that he would be in attendance at several meetings with the purpose to obtain information for this Study.

The author's appearance at these meetings did not appear to bother any of the participants and his presence seemed to be taken for granted. The author was acquainted with many of the participants by virtue of his attendance at similar meetings some seven months earlier as a representative of the Parole Service. The Director of Corrections advised the Institution and the Center that the author had official permission to research the Day Parole program. As well, the author had made a point of informing correctional officials as early as the previous summer of his intention to research Day Parole. The author's presence, then, was not a surprise. The officials were aware of the author's status as a student/researcher. The author's identification as part of "The System" not too long ago seemed to pave the way for quick acceptance at the meetings. Indeed, two of the participants expressed a keen interest in the Study. They were not to be individually interviewed by the author, because of their limited involvement with the Day Parole selection process. Even so, they said they were most willing to help out in any way they could. In short, the author did not encounter any overt negative feedback to his presence at the selection meetings. His presence was accepted without serious question[9], thus apparently indicating a neutral reaction to his attendance and some of the officials seemed sincerely interested in the Study.

At each meeting the author sat with those in attendance at a large table. By taking a position at a corner of the table, but back from the edge, the author was able to observe the participants and clearly hear their deliberations. The general format of these meetings was not noticeably different from the ones previously attended by the author as a representative of the Parole Service. Throughout this time the author took notes in longhand on paper attached to a clipboard. This clipboard was held so that those seated next to the author could not view the notes without leaning backward and sideways[10]. The notes taken by the author were intended to record something of the kinds of information that were presented, and the source of this information. As well, the author kept track of the number of cases considered and the length of time devoted to each case.

This method of recording the interaction at the meetings was poorly suited to capturing important factors such as non-verbal expressions and tones of voice. Taking notes in longhand did not allow the author to keep up with the brisk pace at which the meetings were conducted nor could many of the details be captured in each case. The degrees of information such as assessments ranging from very negative to very positive could not be accurately captured so only the presence or absence of an item was noted. This method of data collection could not judge the weight of the factors involved. Nevertheless, the notes taken permitted the review of the meetings at a later date in regards to the general nature of the discussions pertinent to each case. In addition, the author was able to make some observations about some of the dynamics involved in selection meetings in correctional facilities.

Presentation of the Findings

What kinds of information were presented at the Classification Meeting? By recording the type of information presented on each inmate the author was able to categorize some of the elements involved in the selection of inmates for Day Parole. Table 3.2 presents the findings.

Expiry Date

Table 3.2 indicates that the expiry date of an inmate's sentence was cited most frequently. This represents

TABLE 3.2

TYPES OF INFORMATION PRESENTED AT FOUR INSTITUTION CLASSIFICATION MEETINGS, 1975

TYPE OF INFORMATION	f	Per Cent
Expiry Date of Sentence	49	11.5
Inmate Assessment	44	10.3
Charge and Sentence	43	10.1
Age	41	9.6
Family Background	33	7.7
Use of Alcohol/Drugs	32	7.5
Criminal Record	28	6.6
Conduct at Institution	21	4.9
Length of Time at Institution	20	4.7
Employment History	19	4.5
Previously at Institution	18	4.2
Education	14	3.3
Applied for Full Parole	13	3.1
Psychiatric/Psychological Reports	10	2.3
Behavior on Probation	10	2.3
Inmate's View	9	2.1
Facilities/Program at Center	6	1.4
Court Recommendation	6	1.4
Caseload Management	6	1.4
Previous Conduct at Center	2	0.5
Physical Condition	1	0.2
Penitentiary Conduct	1	0.2
TOTAL	426	99.8

11.5 per cent of all the recorded pieces of information presented at the meetings. The concern of the officials here was with the amount of time remaining to serve in the inmate's sentence. A commonly understood guideline was that Day Parole would usually be granted toward the latter part of the sentence. Neither the Institution, the Center nor the Parole Service wanted an inmate on Day Parole for a long time. There was a generally accepted belief that this created undue hardships for the inmate and fostered an unnecessarily high security risk for which the Center was not equipped to handle. The Parole Board's operational policy was to grant Day Parole for only a period of three months (later extended to four months), after which an extension of the original Certificate had to be obtained from the Board. It was generally understood by those attending the meeting that a transfer from the Institution to the Center for the purpose of Day Parole while there was a large proportion remaining in an inmate's sentence would be approved only if the inmate had applied for Full Parole and if the Parole Officer was confident the inmate would be granted Full Parole. It was, therefore, important to know how long the inmate was to be the responsibility of an institution and this concern was reflected at the meetings by being raised most frequently when selecting inmates for Day Parole. Similarly, if an inmate was to be released in less than a month, it was generally considered to be a waste of time to process an application for Day Parole. It usually took two to four weeks to get a Day Parole back from Ottawa. In all likelihood, the inmate could have been released before Day Parole arrived or, with a matter of days yet to serve, the trouble of finding a job was not considered to be worth going for Day Parole.

Inmate Assessment

The second major concern was the assessment of the inmate. It represents 10.3 per cent of all the information presented. These assessments were not usually formal presentations and they did not usually represent anything like a well-documented clinical assessment. They were quick judgements, readily offered by most officials in attendance at the Meeting. These assessments generally summarized the assessor's perception of an inmate. They tended to be brief and generally indicated either a positive or negative conclusion. Some examples of these assessments would include the following:

> "This guy is a real rounder and he doesn't deserve Day Parole."
>
> "The subject relates well, comes from a good home and seems to have a lot of potential."
>
> "He's a security risk and shouldn't be at Belmont."
>
> "He's sixteen and shouldn't be here."
>
> "This joker will never make it through Day Parole."
>
> "I think he's a positive case."

The quick judgements were not offered in an off-handed or unconcerned fashion. They represent what a particular official thought about a particular applicant at that time. The officials consciencio usly went about their task of judging people. These quick judgements could very well be just as accurate as more sophisticated assessments.

Charge and Sentence

The third most frequently cited information was the charge and sentence. This item represents 10.1 per cent of all information presented. The sentence, usually expressed in months, is information of a nature similar to the length of time left in the sentence. It gives the Meeting some idea of the time restraints in each case. Information about the offence provides the officials with an indication of the type of offender they are dealing with. Knowing the general nature of the crime was believed to tell a lot about the offender - was he a thief, a drug addict, a sex offender, a violent person, a petty crook, or a sophisticated criminal.

Age was the fourth most frequently expressed item. It represented 9.6 per cent of all information presented. This factor provides more information that the officials use to come up with a picture of the kind of person who is being considered for transfer to the Center and/or for Day Parole.

Fact vs Opinion

It is possible to examine the information presented at the meeting in terms of "cold hard facts" or "Judgement Calls". A review of Table 3.2 indicates two-thirds of the information presented at the Classification Meetings was "cold hard facts". There was not a great deal of personal judgement required by the participants. The balance of the information, about one-third of the total, required a considerable degree of personal judgement by the officials. This would seem to indicate that the officials involved in the selection process play an important part in who eventually is placed on Day Parole. Assuming the officials do not perceive or decide the same way[11], one important factor in the selection of Day Parolees would appear to be the officials' caseload to which an inmate is assigned.

Time Per Case

The research question "How long did the officials take to collectively come to a decision?" was explored by noting the nearest number of minutes spent on each case. Table 3.3 provides the answer to this question.

TABLE 3.3

TIME TAKEN TO REACH A DECISION AT FOUR INSTITUTION CLASSIFICATION MEETINGS, 1975

NUMBER OF IMINUTES PER CASE	f	F
0-1	13	13
2-3	16	29
4-5	29	58
6-7	6	64
8-9	7	71
10-11	3	74
12-14	3	77
15 and over	2	79
TOTAL	79	

Table 3.3 shows a positively skewed distribution. As a result, the most appropriate measure of central tendency is the median (Anderson and Zelditch, 1968:89). The median interval is four to five minutes per case. The median time to arrive at a decision in the seventy-nine cases handled at four Institution Classification Meetings was 4.3 minutes. The range was one minute to twenty-five minutes. The modal interval is four to five minutes and the mean is 4.9 minutes.

Source of Information

In addition to identifying the kinds of information dealt with in the selection meetings and the time spent on each deliberation, the author recorded the source of the information presented. By identifying each major contributor in each case the data in Table 3.4 was obtained.

TABLE 3.4

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS OF INFORMATION AT
FOUR INSTITUTION CLASSIFICATION MEETINGS, 1975

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS OF INFORMATION	f	Per Cent (N=79)
Classification Officer	62	78.5
Parole Officer	37	46.8
Counsellors	35	44.3
Probation Officers	16	20.3
Addiction Counsellors	14	17.7
Center's Representative	11	13.9
Psychologist	9	11.4
Priest (R.C.)	2	2.5
Canada Manpower	2	2.5
Salvation Army Chaplain	1	1.3

Table 3.4 shows that the Classification Officer (also the Chairperson of the meeting) dominated the discussions. He was involved in nearly eighty per cent of the cases. Usually the Classification Officer relied on the information contained on the Classification Report. This is a document prepared about the inmate soon after his arrival at the Institution, generally outlining the inmate's age, charge, criminal record, education, family background, employment history, use of alcohol/drugs and an evaluation/assessment of the offender.

The Parole Officer and the Institution's Counsellors were involved in nearly fifty per cent of the cases. Since the Classification Report is the first document prepared that tells something about the inmate, it is understandable that whoever possesses this document in the meetings usually would have the most information concerning an inmate. This would seem to explain the dominant position of the Classification Officer. Other officials at the meeting seem to have been relegated to a secondary role in that the basic information about the inmate had already been presented by the Classification Officer. The other officials in attendance could only supplement the basic information through their participation.

Number of Officials

In addition to the above information, it was possible to document the number of officials involved in each case at the four Classification Meetings. Table 3.5 illustrates this information.

TABLE 3.5

NUMBER OF OFFICIALS INVOLVED IN EACH CASE AT THE INSTITUTION'S CLASSIFICATION MEETINGS, 1975

NUMBER OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS PER CASE	f	Per Cent (N=79)
1	18	22.8
2	23	29.1
3	27	34.2
4	7	8.9
5	4	5.1
TOTAL	79	100.1

Table 3.5 shows the model category to be three contributors per case. This occurred in thirty four per cent of the cases. By cumulation we see that in eighty-six per cent of the cases, there were three officials or less making major contributions.

Summary

In summary, the weekly Classification Meetings at the Institution handled approximately twenty cases per week. The median number of officials involved in each case is two and the Classification Officer, Parole Officer and Institutional Counsellors, in that order, dominate the discussions. The median time devoted to each case is 4.3 minutes. Factors such as the length of time remaining to be served, the charge and sentence, the inmate's age and various assessments as to the "kind of person" the inmate is, appear to be the most important types of information presented at the meeting. It appears then that in the initial selection procedure of Day Parolees, a few people process a few pieces of information in a few minutes.

Some Observations

The Aims of Corrections

The Classification Meetings represent a forum in which the entire range of the aims and philosophies of the Criminal Justice System in general and their particular place in Corrections are displayed. Most of the cases were "cut and dried". In some cases, the decision was short and easy; for example, where the inmate had formally withdrawn his Day Parole application, had been transferred to another institution, and/or who had not been seen by any of the officials (here the case would be deferred for one week so someone could see him). In other cases, the decision was made rather quickly after all the available information had been presented, and briefly discussed. These types of cases did not take very long to decide.

A minority of cases, however, took much longer to reach a decision. For some, the reasons for the longer time had to do with the amount of information available. While most of the cases were decided on the basis of a rather limited amount of information, others, a minority, had a great deal of information available in the form of Probation Reports, Parole Reports, Psychological and Psychiatric Reports and various institutional reports such as from a penitentiary or treatment facility in which the inmate had previously spent some time. Even in these cases where it took the officials longer to read out or report the case to the group, the decision as to what to do was usually made quickly once the information had been presented.

In a few of the longer cases, however, the reason for the additional time centered around basic differences in the theoretical underpinnings of the Criminal Justice System in general and Corrections in particular. At times the deliberations reached the point where angry words were exchanged between officials that usually cooperated very well together. In these cases, one of the officials would have proposed a plan for an inmate about which he felt rather strongly in favor[12]. The case was always a controversial one, such as an inmate who had an extensive criminal record or whose "reputation" in and out of gaol made him rather notorious. Generally the official with the positive assessment of the inmate tried to persuade his colleagues to see things his way. On the other hand, the other committee members often resisted the persusion and defended their negative assessments. The basic argument was whether or not the inmate "deserved" Day Parole. The side with the positive assessment made reference to the "Rehabilitation" aims in Corrections and relied on statements such as:

> "What is best for this fellow?"
>
> "He's going to be out before too long anyways."
>
> "If a guy is really trying to go straight, why not give him Day Parole?"

Officials with a negative assessment of the case generally referred to the "Punishment and Deterrence" aims of Corrections. They stated:

> "He may need Day Parole but he'll just goof it up."
>
> "Why should we give him a break if he isn't going to help himself?"
>
> "Why give him Parole? Why reinforce bad behavior?"

The debate was often resolved by referring the whole matter to the Parole Officer for submission to the National Parole Board in Ottawa.

Person Perception

The assessment of inmates by Classification Officers, Parole Officers and Counsellors is one of the key processes in the selection of Day Parolees. The Social Psychological research into the processes of person perception whereby "Man comes to know and to think about other persons, their characteristics, qualities and inner states" (Taguirei, 1969:395; see also Hastorf et al, 1970) is particularly relevant to the assessment of Day Parolees. Understanding the dynamics involved in one person judging emotional states, personality traits and forming impressions of other people would throw additional light on what goes on in the seleciton of Day Parolees, given the importance of the perceiver's assessment.

Group Decisions

Another major process in the selection of Day Parolees is the Classification Meeting at the Institution and the Day Parole Meeting at the Center. Here, decisions are made in a group setting that have a profound influence as to who gets recommended for Day Parole. To understand group dynamics in general and the particular dynamics involved in group membership: pressures to uniformity, power and influence, leadership and performance, motivational processes and structural properties (Cartwright and Zander, 1968) would contribute to a more complete understanding of this part in the selection of inmates for Day Parole.

Typical Cases (Normal Crimes)

Sudnow (1969) coined the term "normal crimes" in his discussion of a Public Defender Office. The concept referred to "those occurrences whose typical features, e.g., the ways they usually occur and the characteristics of persons who commit them" generated a "proverbial characterization" for any series of offence types (p. 314). The mark of a competent attorney was his "command not simply of local penal codes, peculiarities and courtroom folklore, but, as importantly, of relevant features of the social structure and criminological wisdom" (p. 316-317). For the Public Defender, the understanding of what constituted a normal crime was crucial for the performance of one of the key parts of his job - the arrangement of a guilty plea bargain (p. 315).

In terms of this Study, the concept of normal crime seems to be very applicable to the selection of Day Parolees both in terms of the assessments developed by the individual officials as well as the group decision process. The previously discussed assessments represent in large part the "folk wisdoms of Corrections". Each official seems to develop his own way of assessing an inmate and each official has a characteristic way of expressing his assessment. These judgements are evidence that there are normal crimes in Corrections, just as Sudnow demonstrated the existence of normal crimes in the Court portion of the Criminal Justice System. Similarly, Piliavin and Briar's study (1964) of police encounters with juveniles, where the disposition for nearly all minor offences was based on the youth's personal characteristics (demeanor and whether in the view of the patrol-man the youth was basically law-abiding or at least "salvageable") (p. 244-245) and not their offences, is evidence that the Police too, understand the concept of normal crime.

Normal crimes, as understood in an institutional setting, quite naturally place a heavy emphasis on security matters. For certain offenders there was a generalized belief in regards to their escape potential. An example of this came out quite often during the Classification Meetings when the offender was "the FP type". The offence was false pretences, usually writing "bum" cheques, and it was generally believed that the "FP type" poses very little threat to the community while he is in gaol. The "FP type" was often considered to be a model prisoner in terms of good conduct and cooperation with staff members.

This example seems to indicate that correctional officials also understand the concept of normal crime in their particular setting. In addition, the relatively short period of time spent by a few people to review a few pieces of information and then make a decision to recommend or not recommend Day Parole seems to illustrate that providing there was nothing really "unusual" in a case, it was usually acceptable to recommend Day Parole be granted. Conversely, in the controversial cases like the ones cited above where there was something "unusual", the meeting took a long time to hammer out a decision. The normal crimes seem to receive much less scrutiny than the unusual ones.

Individual Approaches to Selection

In order to examine the individual "selection approaches" of some of the officials involved in the screening of inmates who had applied for Day Parole, the author interviewed all the members of the Institution's Counselling staff and the Parole Officer who was responsible for investigating the majority of the Day Parole applications. These officials were believed to be key officials in terms of the selection of Day Parolees by virtue of their position and duties in the handling of inmates.

The Institution's Counselling Staff consisted at the time of five members, two of whom had University experience and three who had previous experience "on the floor" of the

Institution. The latter had performed custodial and security duties at the Institution while the former had several years experience in the social service part of the Institution. These two officials performed the supervisory functions of the group.

Method of Data Collection

The selection of inmates for Day Parole is but one of a number of various duties which the Counsellors are called upon to perform. In order to identify the general nature of their work and the particular place of Day Parole in it, the author interviewed the Counsellors and the Parole Officer in terms of their jobs and how they felt they went about selecting "Day Parole material". (See Appendix V for the interview schedule).

The interviews were conducted by the author during May and June, 1975 at the Institution. All but two of the interviews were held in one of the offices in the Institution (one was held outside - there was no office space available and the Parole Officer was interviewed at his office in Edmonton in May 1975). The interviews generally lasted about one hour and one was interrupted on a number of occasions when other staff members felt they needed to speak with the respondent. The two Counsellors with social service experience were well acquainted with the author while the three Counsellors who had "floor" experience were not, but we had met several times previous to the interviews. They were well aware of the purpose of the Study and their contribution to it. The author's relationship with the Parole Officer was much like the relationship with the three Counsellors with "floor" backgrounds.

The interviews were "open-ended" in that a precise schedule was not followed. The questions were "leading" so as to focus the respondant's attention generally on the topic in question. From then on the respondants were allowed to proceed at will. The author took notes in long-hand and occasionally interrupted the respondant in order to summarize or classify his comments. At the end of a particular topic, the author reviewed his notes with the respondant to ensure that they reflected the respondant's statements.

Presentation of the Findings

Job Description

The Social Worker/Counsellors

In terms of the general duties of the Counsellors, each had a caseload of inmates for which they were responsible. Each inmate on the caseload was serving a sentence of at least four months[13]. The Counsellor is to develop a program for the longer term inmate that is believed to best fulfill the goals of the Criminal Justice System (protection, punishment, deterrence and rehabilitation) while the inmate is within an institutional setting. The Counsellor has a number of alternatives: the inmate can stay in the higher security facilities of The Fort; he may be transferred to an open forestry camp; he may be transferred to another institution, such as Peace River (not an infrequent procedure for potential trouble makers at The Fort), or he may be transferred to the Center either to finish out his sentence or for Day Parole. As well as making recommendations and decisions concerning the facility in which to place the inmate, the Counsellor is called upon to deal with some of the personal problems of the inmates. This may be in regards to his behavior at the Institution, and his state of affairs and relationships "on the street" (family, job, school, etc.). The Counsellor also is involved with the inmate on such matters as Full Parole, Day Parole, or training program within the Institution such as barbering, motor mechanics or auto body mechanics. One Counsellor summarized his job this way: "You get to know the guy and his circumstances and help him with guidance and planning". An indication of the caseload situation was provided by this same Counsellor who had thirty-six inmates on his caseload. He estimated he saw each inmate once every two weeks.

The Parole Officer

In terms of the general duties of the Parole Officer, his primary concern was investigating, assessing and making recommendations concerning Day Parole applications. These applications now came from a variety of sources such as the Institution, the Center, the inmate, the court, a lawyer or any other interested party. Prior to mid-1974, the Parole Officer responsible for Day Parole would have received nearly all such applications from the Institution or the Center. In addition to Day Parole responsibilities, the Parole Officer also investigated Full Parole applications, and provided supervision to parolees on Full Parole and Mandatory Supervision. Compared to other Parole Officers, then, this respondent was responsible for nearly all Day Parole activities in the Edmonton area, while his colleagues generally handled little in the way of Day Parole duties. They concentrated more on the Full Parole duties in the Edmonton region and on Day Parole duties in the other areas served by the Edmonton Parole Service Office. This respondant attended the Institution two or three times each week to take part in meetings, interview Day Parole applicants and discuss Parole matters with the staff at the Institution. Once or twice a week the Parole Officer visited the Center to interview inmates and meet with staff members either individually or in a group setting.

"Positive Day Parole Material"

In the course of performing the duties outlined above, plus attending various other meetings and the writing of reports, the Counsellors and the Parole Officer are expected to pass judgement on those who have applied for Day Parole or who are considering doing so. To obtain information as to which inmates are considered to be "good Day Parole material" and which inmates are thought to be "poor Day Parole material", the author asked the Parole Officer and the Counsellors what things they considered to be important when giving a positive recommendation and a negative recommendation in terms of Day Parole. Table 3.6 details the factors deemed to be important by each Counsellor and the Parole Officer to warrant a positive recommendation toward a Day Parole Application. The Table was constructed by reviewing the interview responses and categorizing each factor mentioned.

TABLE 3.6

POSITIVE FACTORS IN THE SELECTION OF DAY PAROLEES

POSITIVE FACTORS	f	Per Cent
First Offender	6	18.2
Good Job/School Prospect	4	12.1
Desire to Improve Self/Change Lifestyle	4	12.1
Concerned Wife/Parents	2	6.1
Inmate Scared	2	6.1
Short Sentence	2	6.1
Good Behavior	2	6.1
Favorable Employment History	2	6.1
Low Threat to Community	2	6.1
Young Person	2	6.1
Has Dependants	1	3.0
Overcrowding at the Institution	1	3.0
Positive Views of Other Officials	1	3.0
Won't Likely be Back	1	3.0
Minor Offence	1	3.0
TOTAL	33	100.0

Table 3.6 indicates that the Counsellors and Parole Officer feel they would look most favorably upon a first offender who in their view showed a desire to "improve himself" and change his lifestyle and had a school or job to go to. There were a variety of other concerns ranging from specific items (Short Sentence) to vague, almost indeterminable things (Won't Likely Be Back). The item Overcrowding at the Institution would seem to indicate that when the inmate population at the Institution reaches crisis proportions, officials are primarily concerned with bed space. Apparently during such periods officials would be somewhat more inclined to transfer inmates to the Center, thereby virtually guaranteeing their consideration for Day Parole whereas when The Fort could easily accommodate the inmates,

the Counsellors would be more selective in their efforts to choose inmates for transfer to the Center and/or Day Parole.

Fact vs Opinion

The officials, then, have an array of information on which to base a positive decision. Some of this information is readily available to the official and is of a non-judgement variety while other types of information is that which requires the official to make a judgement. A review of Table 3.6 reveals that in reaching a positive decision about Day Parole, two-thirds of the information used by the officials is generally "cold hard fact" and one-third is generally a "judgement call". This would seem to indicate that the "selection style" of each individual plays an important part in the selection of Day Parolees, especially since they contribute a lot of information to the meeting where important decisions are made concerning Day Parole.

"Negative Day Parole Material"

Just as the Counsellors and Parole Officer had a fairly clear idea of who constituted a "good case for Day Parole", so did they have a fairly clear picture in mind as to who was a "bad case for Day Parole". Table 3.7 outlines the factors that make up "a bad case". The Table was constructed by reviewing the interview responses and categorizing each factor mentioned.

TABLE 3.7

NEGATIVE FACTORS IN THE SELECTION OF DAY PAROLEES

NEGATIVE FACTORS	f	Per Cent
Sex Offence	5	17.2
Intend to Continue Crime	3	10.3
Violent Offence	3	10.3
Playing Games/Not Serious	3	10.3
No Desire to Better Self or Change Lifestyle	2	6.9
Poor Conduct	2	6.9
Threat to Community	2	6.9
Chronic Repeater	2	6.9
Retarded	1	3.4
Grossly Immature	1	3.4
Poor Attitude Toward Working	1	3.4
Chronic Drinker	1	3.4
Expected Negative Public Reaction	1	3.4
Previous Violation at Belmont	1	3.4
Junkie	1	3.4
TOTAL	29	99.5

Table 3.7 indicates that an offender who committed a sex or violent offence and/or who in the view of the officials had no intention of "going straight" and was "not serious" about Day Parole would be assessed negatively. There are a variety of negative factors on which to base a negative decision, from specific, non-judgemental, items such as the offence to very imprecise and judgemental items such as Expected Negative Public Reaction.

Fact vs Opinion

A review of Table 3.7 indicates that in arriving at negative decisions regarding Day Parole the officials rely on "cold hard facts" considerably less than they rely on a "judgement call". Here, the "selection style" of the individual official is a most important consideration.

Summary

In arriving at a decision regarding Day Parole, the individual officials have considerable latitude in which to make up their minds. There is lots of room for "judgement calls". This is particularly true in arriving at negative recommendations. It would seem that in an inmate's application for Day Parole, from one-third to one-half of the factors considered by an official involves a personal judgement or assessment by that official. This finding emphasizes the importance in terms of selection for Day Parole of the relationship between the official and the inmates on his caseload.

Selection of Day Parolees at the Center

There are two important factors in the selection of Day Parolees at the Center. One is a Day Parole meeting; the other is the approach taken by the Social Workers to recommending inmates for Day Parole.

The Center's Day Parole Meeting

Each Monday afternoon for the past several years there has been a Day Parole meeting at the Center attended by the Center's senior administration (the Director, Deputy Director and/or Assistant Deputy Director), the Social Workers and the Parole Officer who also attended The Fort meetings. The general purpose of this meeting was to review the cases of certain inmates with a view to considering them for Day Parole.

An integral part of the Center's Day Parole program has been the Alcohol Treatment Program (generally called "Treatment").

Correctional officials refer to the calling of a meeting about the time that Day Parole began (presumably about 1968) between officials of the Center, the Institution, and the Edmonton Parole Service Office. They agreed that in the case of inmates with alcohol problems who were not likely a security risk, an acceptable procedure to handle them would consist of a period of time at The Fort followed by the eight week Treatment Program at the Center, followed in turn by a period of Day Parole to the expiry of their sentence. Later, correctional officials noted that "the number of potential alcoholics was overestimated as it has proven difficult throughout the years to classify more than forty to fifty inmates for alcoholism treatment at Belmont. The balance of the space has been occupied by inmates transferred as work-party from Fort Saskatchewan to relieve overcrowding at the latter institution and to provide a labor force for Belmont". (Annual Report, Corrections Branch, 1972:125).

As a result, inmates often were transferred from the Institution to the Center toward the end of their sentence for eight weeks of Treatment or Workparty to be followed by Day Parole to the expiry of the sentence. In some cases, the application and initial recommendation concerning Day Parole had been made at the Institution's Classification Meeting prior to the inmate's arrival at the Center. In other cases where Day Parole was being considered the application for Day Parole was made on behalf of the inmate by the Center during the Treatment or Workparty Program. Day Parole was to be effected upon the successful completion of this phase of the plan. Evidence that this practice became formalized is found in an undated publication[14] by the Center entitled Procedural Guidelines:

> "1. Day Parole
>
> -available to inmates upon application by staff or the Parole Service, after they have been in the institution for about eight weeks.
>
> -approval may be given by the National Parole Board for employment or education.
>
> -application is made by the Board which meets each Monday at Belmont at 1:00 p.m.
>
> 2. Work Party
>
> -consists of men transferred to Belmont who are not on a specific program. They may be eligible for Day Parole after eight weeks.
>
> -in some cases application for Day Parole has been made prior to admission." (p.1)

Traditionally, then, most inmates who eventually were placed on Day Parole had to complete the eight week Treatment or Work Party program at the Center. It was the Center's policy to automatically consider each inmate for Day Parole after about five weeks of Treatment or Work Party. The Day Parole Certificate was expected to arrive in about three weeks, at which time the inmate would be finished the Treatment or Work-party Program. Relatively few inmates were transferred to the Center for the purpose of Day Parole only, although this could be arranged if the officials involved felt an inmate was particularly deserving of such consideration. A typical case in this regard would be a young inmate who had been attending school and had received a prison sentence with the Court's recommendation of Day Parole. Such an offender would often be transferred to the Center as soon as possible and likely released on Temporary Absence Permits until the National Parole Board authorized Day Parole[15].

Since most Day Parolees went through another selection and screening process, namely the weekly Day Parole meeting at the Center, the author attended a series of these meetings in an effort to learn more about the selection of inmates for Day Parole.

Method of Data Collection

With the consent of the Center's Director, the author attended four consecutive Day Parole meetings held at the Center. Two meetings were in March, 1975 and two were in April, 1975. In attendance were one or two Parole Officers, three or four of the Center's five Social Workers and one or two of the Center's three senior administrative staff, who acted as Chairperson of the meeting. These officials were well acquainted with the author by virtue of his previous employment relationship with the staff at the Center. In addition the author spent several hours each day during March and April, 1975 at the Center searching through files in order to gather data relative to Day Parolees. The author frequently had coffee with the staff and whenever possible discussed the general nature of the Study with them in an attempt to maintain unthreatening positive and friendly relationship, thereby facitating the continuing cooperation of staff members that is so vital to the commencement and completion of a Study of this nature.

At the Day Parole meetings the author sat with the officials and took notes during the proceedings. Everyone was aware of the author's status as student/researcher/former member of "The System". Everyone was aware that notes were being taken. Once again, as with The Fort meetings, the autnor did not encounter any negative feedback. Again, too, several staff members seemed to be quite interested in the Study. Generally speaking the atmosphere, format and proceedings evidenced at these meetings were not noticeably different from the ones previously attended by the author as a representative of the Parole Service. Particular attention was paid to the kinds of information presented in each case, the number of cases considered and the time devoted to each case. The author's notes of the meetings were reviewed at a later date and categorized in terms of type and source of information presented.

Presentation of the Findings

Type of Information

What type of information comes out at the Center's Day Parole meetings? Table 3.8 illustrates the general nature of the discussions at the meetings.

Table 3.8 presents the kind of information presented at the meetings, the frequency of each kind over the four meetings attended by the author, and the overall rate of occurance (expressed in per cent).

TABLE 3.8

TYPES OF INFORMATION PRESENTED AT FOUR
OF THE CENTER'S DAY PAROLE MEETINGS, 1975

TYPE OF INFORMATION	f	Per Cent (N=30)
Length of Time at Center	19	16.0
Employment Situation	14	11.8
Procedural Matters	14	11.8
Conduct Reports	11	9.2
Program at Center	11	9.2
Inmate Assessments	7	5.9
Criminal Record	7	5.9
Behavior on Passes	6	5.0
Offence	6	5.0
Use of Alcohol/Drugs	6	5.0
Reason for Day Parole	3	2.5
The Future	3	2.5
Marital Situation	3	2.5
Associates	2	1.7
Prognosis	2	1.7
Charges Outstanding	2	1.7
Psychological Assessment	1	0.8
Day Parole Experience	1	0.8
Personal Interests	1	0.8
TOTAL ✓	119	99.8

Time at the Center

The most frequently cited information at the meetings had to do with the length of time an inmate had been at the Center. In general this amounted to a discussion of how long an inmate had been at the Center and how much time remained until the expiration of his sentence. Since the length of time at the Center was discussed so frequently it would seem to be an important factor on which the officials relied heavily when considering Day Parole for an inmate. It was therefore, ranked the highest in apparent importance.

Employment and Procedures

The next most frequently mentioned concerns had to do with the inmate's employment situation and procedural aspects relative to the Day Parole process. In terms of the former, the discussions centered around the kind of jobs the inmate could do, the chances of him securing his own employment and the availability of employment through the Center. The discussions of procedural matters involved such things as explaining to an inmate that he must finish the Treatment Program before going on Day Parole, that there was insufficient time left in his sentence to consider Day Parole or that the final decision about Day Parole was made in Ottawa.

Inmate Behavior

The third most frequently discussed items dealt with the inmate's overall behavior at the Center and the program that he was involved with. Each week a conduct report was completed by a staff member, usually one of the Correction Officers, pertaining to an inmate. The granting of many privileges, such as passes and Day Parole was highly dependant on these assessments. At the meeting these assessments were reviewed and notice was taken of such comments as "Average inmate", "Above Average inmate" or "Below Average inmate". These comments generally referred to the way in which an inmate was "fitting in" at the Center with his peers, his work supervisor and the staff member preparing the report. The item "Program at Center" referred to the inmate's assignment to the eight-week Treatment or Work Party program. The discussions on this topic generally referred to how close the inmate was to completing the program, and what the inmate felt he was getting from the program.

Criminality and Assessment

The fourth most frequently mentioned items were the inmate's criminal record and the Social Worker's assessment of the inmate. In 5.9 per cent of the cases, the inmate's official Finger Print Section Record (FPS) was reviewed, noting the dates of conviction and sentence. In 5.9 per cent of the cases the Social Workers give a brief assessment of the inmate. These usually were not assessments of a clinical nature but more on a quick judgement basis such as "His values are backwards", "he's too immature", "he's scatterbrained", "he's a good kid basically", or "that lying little bugger". These comments were made not by way of a formal presentation but more in conjunction with other remarks, comments and observations reflecting the staff's assessment of the "kind of person" they were dealing with.

Time

This Study examined the importance of time factors, especially time remaining until release, not only by noting how frequently it came up in the Day Parole meeting but also by examining the dispositions of the thirty cases at four meetings attended by the author. Table 3.9 presents this data.

TABLE 3.9

DISPOSITION AND REASONS CITED IN THIRTY CASES CONSIDERED AT MEETINGS, 1975

NATURE OF DISPOSITION	f	Per Cent
1. Day Parole Recommended	9	30.0
2. Day Parole Not Recommended Insufficient Time Remaining	13	43.3
3. Delay Day Parole Submission One Month - Poor Conduct Reports	1	3.3
4. Day Parole Granted: Implement when job arranged	2	6.7
5. Day Parole Granted on basis of 6 days out and 1 day back at Center	1	3.3
6. Day Parole Granted: Implement when Behavior Improves	1	3.3
7. Consider TAP: Parole Act not applicable	1	3.3
8. Authorize TAP Until Day Parole Arrives	2	6.7
TOTAL	30	99.9

Table 3.9 indicates that in thirteen decisions (43.3%) Day Parole was not going to be recommended or proceeded with because it was felt there was not enough time for the Parole Officer to start or complete his investigation, submit his report to the National Parole Board in Ottawa, await a reply, prepare a Day Parole Certificate if Ottawa granted a Day Parole, and finally secure employment acceptable to both the inmate and the Center. Indeed, the importance of this factor is further

stressed when it is realized that of all decisions not to apply or implement Day Parole (Dispositions 2, 3, 6 and 7, totalling 16), the reason Insufficient Time was cited in 13 cases (81.3 per cent).

The inmate's reaction to this decision was one of acceptance. None of the inmates interviewed at the Day Parole Meetings attended by the author questioned the wisdom or practicality of this decision. When advised by the Chairperson that there was not enough time left in his sentence for Day Parole, the inmate would characteristically agree that he was "getting short". At least in the meetings there was no evidence of resentment or animosity on behalf of the inmates directed toward the officials or "The System" in general. This is not surprising, though, since a confrontation with the officials rarely benefits an inmate. Undoubtedly, with the end of the sentence nearing, the inmate would not be too interested in jeopardizing his chances for a few days "pre-release"[16].

Fact vs Opinion

In addition to examining the information presented at the Day Parole Meetings in terms of concerns, it is also possible to see it as being primarily fact or primarily opinion. A review of Table 3.9 reveals that about one-third of the information considered at the Day Parole Meetings requires a "judgement call" from the officials while two-thirds of the information is primarily factual and/or not requiring much of a judgement. Here again we see the potential for influence on Day Parole selection by individual officials.

Time Per Case

By noting to the nearest minute the length of time spent on each case, the data for Table 3.10 was generated.

TABLE 3.10

TIME TAKEN TO REACH A DECISION
AT FOUR DAY PAROLE MEETINGS, 1975

NUMBER OF MINUTES PER CASE	f	%	F
1-4	16	53.3	53.3
5-9	6	20.0	73.0
10-14	3	10.0	83.0
15-19	3	10.0	93.0
20 and Over	2	6.7	100.0
TOTAL	30	100.0	

Table 3.10 shows a positively skewed distribution. The range is one minute to forty-nine minutes. The mean is 7.4 minutes per case. The most appropriate measure of central tendency is the median. The median interval is 1-4 minutes per case and the median is 4.8 minutes per case.

Source of Information

As with the selection meetings at the Institution, this Study was concerned with the source of the information in each case presented at the Center's meeting. Table 3.11 illustrates the findings in this regard.

TABLE 3.11

MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS AT FOUR CENTER DAY PAROLE MEETINGS,1975

MAJOR CONTRIBUTOR	f	Per Cent of Cases (N=30)
Senior Administration	28	93.3
Inmate	14	46.6
Parole Officer	12	40
Social Worker/Counsellor	8	29.7

Table 3.11 shows that the dominant official in the Center's meetings was the Senior Administrator, who was also the Chairperson of these Meetings. This official relied on the information contained in the inmate's file as well as his own personal knowledge of the inmates which at times was extensive. The Senior Administration was very much involved in the detailed, daily operations of the Center, including the particular circumstances of many of the inmates. The Senior Administration was very much the authority at the Center and this fact is reflected in their involvement of the Day Parole Meetings.

The second major contributor to the proceedings was the inmate himself. For those taking part in the Treatment Program, the officials, particularly the Senior Administrator chairing the Meeting, would discuss with them their feelings about the Program, their interest in Day Parole and their employment situation. There was opportunity for the inmate to ask questions about the Center and/or Day Parole. The inmates rarely questioned the officials in attendance other than to occasionally ask when their Day Parole would be in.

The Parole Officer ranked third in apparent importance at the Meetings. This would seem to confirm the understanding that the role of the National Parole Service was largely one of following through on the recommendations of the Provincial Officials.

The Social Worker/Counsellors apparently played the least important role at the Meetings in that they had minimal input at this stage of the selection process. This may be explained in part, however, by the fact that the Chairperson would have presented most of the information concerning the inmate and the only remaining contributions would be supplementary ones. As well, the policy of the Center was to at least consider Day Parole for all inmates and it was felt that time and inmate conduct permitting, nearly everyone would be recommended for Day Parole.

Number of Officials

By reviewing which officials took part in each case it was possible to determine how many were involved each time. Table 3.12 shows the results.

TABLE 3.12

NUMBER OF OFFICIALS INVOLVED AT THE CENTER'S DAY PAROLE MEETINGS, 1975

NUMBER OF MAJOR CONTRIBUTORS PER CASE	f	Per Cent (N=30)
1	13	43.3
2	7	23.3
3	5	16.7
4	5	16.7
TOTAL	30	100.0

Table 3.12 indicates in forty-three per cent of the cases discussed at the Day Parole Meetings, there was one major contributor to the proceedings. By cumulation we see that in sixty-seven per cent of the cases there were two officials or less making major contributions.

Individual Approaches to Selection

Method of Data Collection

In order to find out some of the things involved in the selection process on the part of key officials at the Center, structured interviews with open questions were conducted with the five Social Workers at the Center (see Appendix V for Interview Schedule). These people were well known to the author and they were familiar with the general nature of this Study. The interviews were held at the Center in early May, 1975 in the private offices of the respondents.

Each interview lasted about sixty minutes. It was intended to develop a picture of the Social Worker's job and the position that the selection of Day Parolees held in the overall situation.

Presentation of the Findings

Job Description

All of the Social Workers at the Center had University experience. Each had a caseload of inmates, of which about one-half were on Day Parole while the remainder were still in the Treatment or Workparty category. The Social Workers each conducted group counselling and individual counselling sessions with those inmates not on Day Parole. These sessions concern a variety of topics such as personal problems, family relationships, finances, the prison experience, alcohol and drug abuse and employment problems. The Social Workers indicate they spend a lot of time in meetings, writing assessments on inmates and other administrative duties. For those inmates whose Day Parole has arrived, the Social Workers are involved in arranging job interviews, money for Day Parole expenses such as bus fare, clothing for the job, and paper work involving a Day Parole Contract that specifies all the conditions of Day Parole for a particular inmate (See Appendix IV).

"Positive Day Parole Material"

In order to identify the kinds of things that a Social Worker would look favorably or unfavorably upon when it came to providing a recommendation on an inmate's application for Day Parole, each Social Worker was asked a series of leading questions (see Appendix V for interview schedule). The general nature of their responses was recorded in long-hand and later categorized in terms of traits of an inmate deemed either positive or negative. Table 3.13 illustrates the positive traits.

TABLE 3.13

POSITIVE FACTORS IN THE SELECTION OF DAY PAROLEES

POSITIVE FACTORS	f	Per Cent
Good Guy/Character	3	11.1
Has job/Wants to Work	3	11.1
Presence Here Good Enough	2	7.4
Good Behavior	2	7.4
Honest/Sincere	2	7.4
Positive Attitude Change Since Here	2	7.4
Automatic Anyways	2	7.4
Making Some Effort	2	7.4
Accepts Guilt	1	3.7
Concern for Victim	1	3.7
Has Values	1	3.7
Clear Future/Ambitious	1	3.7
Needs Money	1	3.7
Mentally Stable	1	3.7
Low Security Risk	1	3.7
Support in Community	1	3.7
Minor Record	1	3.7
TOTAL	27	99.9

Table 3.13 indicates that the Social Workers at the Center looked most favorably on an inmate who they figured was a "good guy - someone with character" who wanted to work and had a job arranged. Beyond some agreement to these traits, however, the Social Workers showed little in the way of a

common approach to the selection of Day Parolees. The exception here of course, is that 14.8 per cent of the responses (Presence Here Good Enough; Automatic Anyways) recognize the policy of considering everyone for Day Parole at the appropriate time in their sentence, irregardless of "their character".

Fact vs Opinion

The nature of the information cited by the Social Workers to be positive items in the selection of Day Parolees varied in terms of its concrete or abstract nature. A review of Table 3.13 indicates that two-thirds of the positive factors cited by the Social Workers are "judgement calls" and one-third are "facts". It seems the Social Workers rely heavily on information of an abstract nature when picking out "good Day Parole Material". This emphasizes the great importance of the "selection style" of each individual official in selecting Day Parolees. This apparent importance of the Social Workers is minimized, however, by policy considerations dictating that most inmates will be considered for Day Parole and many will get it irregardless of the assessment of their personal attributes.

"Poor Day Parole Material"

Table 3.14 outlines the factors which the Social Workers cited as ones that would elicit a negative recommendation from them.

TABLE 3.14

NEGATIVE FACTORS IN THE SELECTION OF DAY PAROLEES

NEGATIVE FACTORS	f	Per Cent
Lazy/Here for a good time	3	18.8
Poor Conduct	2	12.5
Security Risk	2	12.5
Unemployable	2	12.5
Physically Incapable of Working	2	12.5
Con/Hood	1	6.3
Mentally Unstable	1	6.3
No Interest in Working	1	6.3
Poor Character	1	6.3
No Motivation	1	6.3
TOTAL	16	100.3

Table 3.14 indicates that an inmate who was labelled lazy and at the Center for just a good time, would likely receive a negative recommendation against the granting of Day Parole. There were a variety of other concerns, each held to be detrimental to an inmate's case for Day Parole.

Fact vs Opinion

On what kinds of negative factors did the Social Workers rely - concrete items or abstract ones? Table 3.14 indicates that in reaching a negative conclusion as to the merits of an inmate's suitability for Day Parole, the Social Workers rely almost exclusively on "judgement calls".

The Center and The Fort: A Comparison

The selection of Day Parolees from the inmate population goes through a series of stages, beginning in some cases with an inmate's application and proceeding through several assessments by various officials in two correctional facilities. This Study documented in a rough fashion some of the things that happened at the separate stages of selection. As a result, it was possible to make comparisons between selected occurrences at the Institution and at the Center.

Types of Information

The first comparison deals with the type of information considered at the Institution's Classification Meeting and the Center's Day Parole Meeting. The data in Table 3.15 compares the types of information.

TABLE 3.15

TYPES OF INFORMATION CONSIDERED IN THE SELECTION OF DAY PAROLEES AT THE INSTITUTION AND THE CENTER

TYPE OF INFORMATION CONSIDERED	INSTITUTION (Per Cent)	CENTER (Per Cent)
1. Organizational Factors (expiry date of sentence/length of time at Center or Institution/ facilities, program at Center/ caseload management/procedural matters).	18.7	37.8
2. Inmate Assessment - Personal and Conduct (assessment/conduct at Center and Institution/psychiatric and psychological reports/previous prison conduct/ behavior on pass/prognosis/behavior on probation/use of drugs, alcohol/inmate point of view/ physical health/future/associates).	34.5	35.1
3. Community Situation (employment/family/education).	15.5	14.3
4. Legal Status (offence/criminal record/age/applied Full Parole/ Court recommendation).	31.1	12.6
TOTAL	99.8%	99.8%

Table 3.15 indicates that security concerns were not discussed openly at the meetings but it was commonly understood that an inmate whose conduct was unsatisfactory at either facility would not be seriously considered for Day Parole. The most frequently mentioned type of information had to do with an assessment of the inmates conduct and personal attributes. On the whole, each facility was about equally concerned with what the inmate "had going for himself on the street" although the officials at the Institution were more interested in the inmate's family situation while the officials at the Center were understandably more concerned about his employability.

The legal status of the case was far more important to the Institutional Meeting than the meeting at the Center. The officials at the Institutional Meeting had to consider information about inmates in a higher security facility and project their conclusions to a lower security facility. Often the officials did not know the inmate very well so they relied on factors which they felt told something about the inmate.

Officials at the Center did not have to be so cautious as their colleagues at The Fort. The inmates considered at the Day Parole Meeting had been at the Center for at least a month and if they were deemed to be a serious threat to the community (or the Center's reputation) they would have been returned to the Institution.

Table 3.15 shows the Center's officials were more concerned with organizational matters. This represents their efforts to personally explain to the inmates something of the paperwork and procedures that go into the granting of a Day Parole Certificate. At the Day Parole Meetings the officials also took the opportunity to discuss with the inmates some wider concerns, such as his conduct at the Center, his response to the Treatment Program, and his future plans.

Fact vs Opinion

Officials in both meetings can rely on one-third of the available information to be "cold hard facts" that are readily attainable and leave little room for argument. About two-thirds of the available information represents opinions, assessments, and "judgement calls" where there may be plenty of room for argument and changed minds. That both groups face one-third "fact" and two-thirds "opinion" is not surprising since they both rely on basically the same information.

Time Per Case

The selection meetings at both facilities took approximately the same median time to reach a decision. The meetings at the Center tended to either take quite a while on each case or dispose of the matter quickly whereas the Institution's meeting finished with most cases within six minutes.

Source of Information

The Chairperson at each meeting contributed the most information in the decision making process. This would seem to emphasize the importance of the information or document on which these contributions were based. In this case, the Institution relied heavily on the Classification Report whereas the Center could rely less on the initial Classification Report and more on the records of the inmate's behavior and official assessments thereof.

Not surprisingly the Parole Officer played a less important role as the process moved along. He was actively involved early in the selection processes and was less involved as the consideration for Day Parole was nearly automatic[17].

The Institutional Counsellors and the Probation Officer, in that order, ranked next in importance at the proceedings at the Institution. Again there is evidence of the participants endeavoring to bring as many sources of information as possible to bear on the question of transfer to the Center and/or Day Parole. At the Center, however, where the frame of reference of the meeting was less inquisitive and more explanatory, the Chairperson and inmate dominated the proceedings.

The formal involvement of the inmate increased by virtue of his attendance at the Center's meeting and the Center's concern with his employability. The involvement of the inmate in the Day Parole selection process is more of a "behind-the-scenes" participation. His formal, official involvement occurs at the Center's meeting yet the "caseload relationship" that develops between the inmate and the Institution's Counsellors, and the Parole Officer is likely far more important in terms of his selection for Day Parole. If the Counsellor or Parole Officer felt an inmate "deserved Day Parole", then would likely be a better chance he would eventually get it.

Another important factor pertaining to inmate involvement would seem to be the Day Parole application policy and procedures. Prior to mid-1974, when most applications were made on behalf of the inmate by the officials and many Day Paroles were granted toward the end of the sentence after a Treatment or Workparty program, the inmate's participation in the Day Parole selection process likely was of reduced importance. Irregardless of the inmate's desires in terms of Day Parole, the dominant position of the officials would seem to minimize the inmate's involvement. With the change in Day Parole application procedures in late 1974, whereby an inmate could apply on his own at any time, his involvement likely increased. In all likelihood, the inmate-Parole Officer relationship increased in importance while the inmate-Counsellor relationship decreased in importance.

There is some evidence of this situation. At the Institution meetings, where the inmate's application for Day Parole was given initial consideration, the Parole Officer made the most contributions, with the exception of the Chairperson. Thus, at the stage of the selection process when there often was not a great deal known about an inmate, the Parole Officer who had interviewed the Day Parole applicant was very much involved in the discussions. Conversely, after the inmate had been in "the System" for some time and was being automatically considered for Day Parole at the Center, the Parole Officer was much less involved in the discussions.

Number of Officials

At each of the meetings a number of officials took part in the selection process, although not everyone took part in each case considered. More officials were usually involved in each case at the Institution than in each case considered at the Center. This would seem to indicate that the officials at the Institution looked for more opinions from colleagues while officials at the Center, having had much more time to assess the applicant's behavior and threat potential to the community, tended to rely on the summary provided by the Chairperson.

"Good Day Parole Material"

The Counsellors at the Institution and the Social Workers at the Center fulfilled similar roles in terms of counselling inmates and making recommendations for such things as passes, Day Parole and Full Parole although the Counsellors seem to play a more important role than the Social Workers. In their capacities, they developed a picture of who was a good candidate for Day Parole. This is presented in Table 3.16.

Table 3.16 reveals some interesting differences between the Counsellors at the Institution and the Social Workers at the Center. The Counsellors were about equally concerned with information regarding the inmate's assessments, his community situation and his legal status. The Social Workers, however, were mainly concerned with the inmate's assessment. Thus, in the organizational setting that compelled the decision makers to recommend either positively or negatively in regards to Day Parole the participants looked to three broad categories for clues to help in coming to a decision. In the setting where Day Parole was automatically considered and often granted, and where the main reason for not applying for Day Parole concerned limited time factors, the Social Worker's main concerns in terms of selection were their assessments of the inmate. Ironically, they relied heavily on the assessment of the inmate even though that assessment had a minor influence on the selection process.

TABLE 3.16

POSITIVE FACTORS CITED BY OFFICIALS AT THE INSTITUTION AND THE CENTER

POSITIVE FACTORS	Per Cent Cited at Institution (N=6)	Per Cent Cited at Institution (N=5)
1. Organizational (overcrowding/positive view of other officials/presence here good enough/automatic anyways).	6.0	14.8
2. Inmate Assessment-Conduct and Personal (desire to improve/scared/won't be back/good behavior/making an effort/change in attitude/good guy/character/honest and sincere/accepts guilt/concern for victim/has values/ambitious/needs money/mentally stable).	27.3	62.9
3. Community Situation (has job/concerned wife or parents/has dependents/favorable employment history/support in community).	27.3	14.8
4. Security Concerns (low threat to community/low security risk)	6.1	3.7
5. Inmate's Legal Status (first offender/short sentence/young/minor offence).	33.4	3.7
6. Total	100.1%	99.9%

Fact vs Opinion

Another way of presenting the difference between the Social Service Staff at the Institution and the Center is to examine the information considered to indicate "good Day Parole material" by each group in terms of whether a personal judgement was required by the official or not.

The Counsellors would reach positive conclusions largely on the basis of factual information while the Social Workers would rely heavily on "judgement calls".

"Poor Day Parole Material"

Table 3.17 examines the characteristics identified by the Counsellors and Social Workers that would likely persuade them to recommend a denial of Day Parole.

TABLE 3.17

NEGATIVE FACTORS CITED BY OFFICIALS AT THE INSTITUTION AND THE CENTER

NEGATIVE FACTORS	Per Cent Cited at Institution (N=29)	Per Cent Cited At Center (N=21)
1. Organizational		
2. Inmate Assessment-Conduct and Personal (lazy/here for a good time/poor conduct/con/hood/mentally unstable/poor character/no motivation/intend to continue crime/playing games/no desire to change/retarded/grossly immature/chronic drinker/junkie).	48.0	56.5
3. Community Situation (unemployable/physically incapable of working/expected negative reaction).	6.8	31.3
4. Security Concerns (security risk/threat to community).	6.9	12.5
5. Legal Status (sex offender/violent offender/chronic repeater/previous violation at Center).	37.8	
6. TOTAL	99.5%	100.3%

Table 3.17 indicates that in coming to a negative recommendation regarding Day Parole, the Social Workers relied first on their assessment of the inmate and secondly on his employment situation. The Counsellors also first relied on an assessment of the applicant but secondly on the legal status of the case. Thus, an inmate who was not deemed to be "serious" and who didn't have a job would not have much

chance of receiving a positive recommendation from the Social Workers. The Counsellors would look with disfavor on an inmate they did not feel was "serious" and whose particular offence was thought to make him too much of a risk. It would appear then, that the Counsellors and Social Workers were more in agreement with each other in what constituted a "negative case" than what they believed to be a "positive case".

Fact vs Opinion

While both sets of officials rely heavily on their judgement and assessment of an inmate, the Social Workers at the Center rely almost exclusively on types of information of a judgemental nature.

Summary

The selection of Day Parolees in the Edmonton area to early 1975 was guided more by tradition and the operational policies of the correctional facilities and the Edmonton Parole Service Office than by legislative pronouncements, either statutory or regulatory. There were few official or formal guidelines to selection yet the officials at each stage had a fairly clear picture in their minds on which to base their selection efforts. The Institution looked for inmates who were not a threat to the community and who could hopefully benefit from the Treatment, Work Party and/or Day Parole programs available at the Center. The Center looked for inmates who had been of good behavior and who had enough time left in their sentence to warrant a period of Day Parole. The Parole Office was generally prepared to provide the authority for the release of those inmates recommended by Provincial Correctional officials[18].

Implementing Day Parole

The Role of the Parole Officer

As mentioned earlier, the Parole Officer usually sent his report and recommendations to the National Parole Board in Ottawa cia Telex. Once the Board made a decision on an application for Day Parole, the nature of the decision was Telexed to the Edmonton Parole Office. The Parole Officer responsible for the case would then notify the institution where the inmate was housed. The clerical staff at the Parole Office prepared the Day Parole Certificate (see Appendix VII), and it was either mailed to the institution, or delivered personally by the Parole Officer.

The Role of the Center

When an inmate at the Center is granted Day Parole, various notations in various recording systems are made of this fact. If the inmate is on the eight week Treatment or Workparty program, he finished these activities before the Day Parole Certificate was put into effect. Correctional officials had a period of sixty days in which to implement Day Parole or have the Certificate cancelled. They did not have to release the inmate if they felt his behavior did not warrant such consideration. As we have seen in Table 3.9 Day Parole was used on occasion as a "carrot" to encourage more acceptable behavior from the inmate.

Explaining Day Parole

When correctional officials decided that an inmate's conduct was acceptable (whether it had been all along or had recently improved sufficiently) he was referred to one of the Center's officials whose responsibilities largely involved helping Day Parolees find work and maintaining some contact with the Day Parolee and the employer during the period of Day Parole. The provisions of the Day Parole Certificate were explained to the inmate and he was informed of the conditions and requirements that went along with his new status. For example, he would have to sign a Day Parole Contract that detailed the terms of the Day Parole. When the inmate understood the nature of the Certificate, he signed it.

Finding a Job

The next step was to find a job, assuming of course, that the purpose of Day Parole was employment, not an educational endeavor. Some of the inmates had jobs waiting for them, some had to go job-hunting and some were not able to locate suitable employment. Common methods of looking for work were contacting family and friends, former employers, contacting the Canada Manpower representative and checking the want-ads in the daily newspaper. If an inmate wished to go job-hunting, he first had to arrange a job interview with the prospective employer. This could be done by phone, mail or in person on a week-end pass. Once the appointment was confirmed by an official, usually the member referred to above or, following his death in March, 1975 the inmate's Social Worker, a temporary absence could be authorized by the Director allowing the inmate to leave the Center only for the purpose of attending a job interview.

Another method of obtaining employment was to rely on the Center to find work for those on Day Parole who could not locate a job on their own. Over the years, the Center had developed contacts with a number of firms who were willing to hire Day Parolees, often without interviewing the men first. There had developed an understanding between the senior officials at the Center and these firms that the Center would refer men upon request, often the same day that the business phoned the Center asking for men. These firms required unskilled help and they suffered from a high turnover of men in these positions. Many of the men on Day Parole were unskilled and they were willing to accept the jobs available through the Center. These jobs were known as "Joint Jobs" by the inmates. The Center willingly acted as a referral agency between the firms and the inmates. This meant men on Day Parole who normally would not have found a job on their own could at least get in some work before they were released. These employers were not too concerned about the fact of the man's criminal record nor his status as a prisoner. They wanted somebody to do the work. They were not interested in prying into the inmate's life. This was a welcome [illegible]ef for many inmates who grew frustrated by the reply of ma[illegible]tial employers to whom they applied for work: "Don't call us, we'll call you." Other advantages of "Joint Jobs" were that the firms were "trusted" to pay on time, report absences to the Center immediately, the hours of work were usually routine, requests for Day Parolees to work overtime were given well in advance and it was believed that these firms kept a close watch on their employees. These features helped the Center maintain control over the men on Day Parole and "on top of the situation". It all helped to make the Day Parole Program run smoother and more efficiently.

A Typical Day

Once a job had been located and the necessary papers, such as the Day Parole Certificate and the Day Parole Contract, signed, the Day Parolee was free from any Workparty assignments at the Center. Those who were not able to find a job or were not allowed out because of poor conduct were expected to work within the Center.

Day Parolees were often housed in dorms separate from the inmates not on Day Parole. This was necessitated by the early waking hours for some of the Day Parolees, particularly those who worked on the southside of the City. In such cases, they were allowed about two hours travel time so they usually had to get up before most of the other inmates. After washing, shaving, dressing and eating,the men were driven in the Center's van to bus-stops for passengers of the Edmonton Transit System. They proceeded from here to work by bus although in some cases other transportation arrangements such as private rides could be made with approval from the Director.

The men were each given a bag-lunch prepared by the kitchen staff at the Center. Generally they were free to spend their lunch hours as they wished providing the terms and conditions of Day Parole were not violated. After work the men were expected to return directly to the Center. Those who arrived after 5:00p.m. ate a meal kept warm in the kitchen for them. Coffee was served for everyone at about 8:00 p.m. and lights-out occured at 10:30 p.m.

In the evenings, the Day Parolee was free to spend the time as he wished. He could read, play cards, watch television, play pool or shuffleboard, watch a movie once a week, work on hobbies, or take part in a number of sporting activities organized by the Center's recreation staff. Occasionally a Day Parolee would be seen by a Social Worker who was on duty that evening. The Day Parolees were subject to the same supervision by the Correction Officers as all other inmates and they were expected to conform to all routines and rules of the Center.

Each Day Parolee had a locker in which to store his clothing and personal items required during the day. Upon returning to the Center each night, the Day Parolees went to the locker room and under the supervision of a staff member changed into the clothing supplied by the Center and deposited their work clothing in the locker. The Day Parolees were not regularly searched upon returning to the Center. Staff members were on the alert for signs of drug or alcohol use but they usually did not go to great lengths to detect such things unless they were very suspicious. Periodic searches were made of the Day Parole lockers and the drawers and lockers beside each inmate's bed.

Each Day Parolee was given three dollars a day from his personal account to pay for such things as bus-fare, tobacco, coffee-breaks, etc. Anything left over at the end of the day was to be turned in, recorded by a staff member and deposited in an envelop until the next day.

All earnings, whether in cash or by cheque, were to be handed over by the Day Parolee to the Center, where it was recorded and placed in the inmate's account. The money could be used to pay debts, purchase clothing, or other expenditures approved by the Director. Each Day Parolee paid room and board at the rate of four dollars per day for each day worked or twenty dollars a week.

Violations of Day Parole

Periodically a Day Parolee would violate his Day Parole by not returning to the Center, by drinking, by using drugs or any one of several forms of misconduct. The response to such deviance frequently involved a charge of violating the conditions of Day Parole, the resulting loss of several days remission, and a return to The Fort. Sometimes a Day Parolee would only be warned by a staff member while at other times he would be charged, lose a few days remission but be allowed to continue on Day Parole[19].

The day-to-day operations of the Day Parole program were left entirely up to the officials of the Center. Parole officials would not usually become involved unless the Day Parolee was also being considered for Full Parole or if he had violated Day Parole. In the latter case the Parole authorities would be notified of the violation and the disposition of the disciplinary committee. The decision to officially terminate Day Parole was usually a joint decision between the

Director and the Parole officials. The officials at the Center could keep a Day Parolee in from work if they so decided (obviously for a good reason such as a violation) and they could return a Day Parolee to the Institution without first consulting the Parole Officer.

In effect, the officials at the Center had the power to suspend Day Parole. This ability to suspend was not pursuant to the Parole Act but rather pursuant to the operational policy of the Center. The Provincial Corrections Act gives the Director of a correctional facility the authority to make and enforce the rules and regulations for that facility. As a result a violation of Day Parole was frequently met with suspension of the inmate's normal routine of going to work, followed in turn by official disciplinary action by the Center.

The Parole authorities were not known to interfere with the Center's disciplinary decision and in cases where the Day Parolee had been returned to The Fort Day Parole was often terminated forthwith by the District Representative of the National Parole Service in Edmonton pursuant to Section 10 (2) of the Parole Act. The Edmonton Parole Office did not seem to use the Suspension and Revocation provisions of the Parole Act (Section 16), in cases involving Day Parole. They relied on the more efficient and discretionary powers of Section 10(2) when it came to terminating Day Parole.

Conclusion

In most cases, the period of Day Parole was completed without serious incident and the Day Parolee was discharged from the Center. All his possessions and earnings held in trust for him were returned to him at that time. One of the Staff, usually a Social Worker, wrote a summary of the man's conduct while he was at the Center. The Director usually wrote a letter to the Parole authorities in Edmonton briefly reviewing the case and the case was considered officially closed.

FOOTNOTES

1 Annual Report, Corrections Branch 1973:36

2 Corrections Act, 1970, s.10

3 There are no figures available to show the local rate of approval but based on the author's experience with Day Parole applications, it is estimated that at least 90% of the applications were approved by the Parole Board up to mid-1974.

4 Statutes of Alberta 1967, c. 59, s.1 and subsequent amendments. Among other duties, the Ombudsman is empowered to investigate complaints against the Provincial Government.

5 Case Numbers 72 - 120 - 70, 77, 79, 82, 159, 167.

6 Case Numbers 73 - 120/3 - 96, 107, 108, 110, 128, 133, 138, 166.

7 Report of the Ombudsman, 1973/74, p. 67-68.

8 Although inmates now had a right to apply for Day Parole whenever they wished, it is unlikely that the overall authority of the selection process was diminished. The National Parole Board probably faced a sharp increase in the number of Day Parole applications. The Board likely responded with an increase in the proportion of denials. The Board would be called upon to exercise more careful judgement of the Day Parole applications. As a result, the Board would rely heavily on the recommendations of the institutional officials and the Parole Service Officer. In reality, things had not changed very much. The Board would not likely go against the recommendations of the Parole Officer, who in turn would not likely offer recommendations contrary to those of the institutions. In all likelihood there probably was not much change in spite of the formal changes in the procedures.

9 The only questions raised were "How are you doing?" and "What brings you here?" The author generally replied "I'm fine. I'm here as part of the work involved in finishing my thesis on Day Parole."

10 No-one queried the author as to why he was taking notes or what the notes contained. The author did not attempt in any way to hide his note-taking activity and it is believed that most of the officials were aware that notes were being taken of their meeting.

11 Takagi's 1969 study of California Parole officials showed considerable variation in their decision patterns. See also Henry and Rowe (1970) for a study of decision making in Canadian institutions.

12 This observation adds further weight to the conclusion that an important factor in the selection of Day Paroles is the inmate's Counsellor, Parole Officer, or Classification Officer.

13 Inmates serving sentences of less than four months were assigned to the caseload of other staff whose job it was to work with these short-term prisoners towards their return to the community in the near future. Because of the short time involved, Day Parole was not usually considered for these inmates.

14 It appears that these Day Parole guidelines were valid up to 1974 and into the first part of 1975.

15 An example is Day Parolee #1355. He was sentenced for a drug offence on January 27, 1975, transferred to the Center on February 18, 1975, released on Temporary Absence on February 19, 1975 to attend school, granted Day Parole by the National Parole Board on March 7, 1975 and finally released on Full Parole on April 11, 1975.

16 A conditional temporary absence from the Center, authorized by the Director usually for the last three days of a sentence, to those inmates who had been of good behavior.

17 The importance of the role of the Parole Officer would be much greater at the next step of the process where he made his report and recommendations to the Parole Board.

18 In reality there is yet another step in the selection process of Day Parolees. This involves the decision-making machinery of the National Parole Board. For the purposes of this Study the author has assumed that the Parole Board usually follows the recommendations for the Parole Service Officer, who in turn usually followed the recommendations of the Provincial correctional officials. The author felt that examining the files maintained at the Edmonton Parole Office in relation to the Day Parole would not add too much more to the examination of the selection of Day Parolees.

19 A study of the actions and dispositions of the disciplinary committee at the Center in terms of Day Parole violation would be an interesting research project.

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATION AND STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

Part 1. The Evaluation of Selected Aspects

Introduction

Purpose

This part of the Study is designed to test certain statements made about the Day Parole Program. It is an evaluation of selected aspects of the Program, not of the overall impact of Day Parole. As noted in Chapter III, Day Parole is most often used for the purpose of employment. As a result, particular attention will be paid to testing the extent to which certain claims about employment have been reached by the Day Parole Program.

Sources of Claims and Criteria

A review of the literature and a series of interviews with officials involved in the Day Parole Program revealed many claims as to the financial and employment benefits of Day Parole. The selection of appropriate criteria depended on the nature of the claim to be tested. The claimed financial benefits were compared with the official financial records maintained by the Center. The claimed employment benefits were compared with conditions reported mainly by the men on Day Parole. Responses from employers were used where appropriate.

Method of Evaluation

The method of testing the claims was to gather data from the appropriate source and compare it to the original claim either in absolute or conditional terms, depending on the nature of the claim. Per cents and tables were used to present the data and to see to what extent the claims were met.

The Claims

As noted in Chapter II, there are many claims attributing rather remarkable results to the Day Parole experience. In order to get some idea of how the Alberta Day Parole officials view their particular program, the author interviewed the Counsellors at The Fort, the Social Workers at the Center and the Parole Officer who handled most of the Day Parole applications. One particular topic discussed with these officials was their view as to the purpose and advantages of Day Parole. They were asked what they saw as the objectives and benefits of Day Parole. The responses were recorded in longhand and periodically repeated and reviewed to ensure the author was accurately capturing the character of their responses.

Financial Benefits

One of the many claims about the benefits of Day Parole is that it enables an inmate to earn money that may be used to support dependents, make restitution, pay bills and provide the inmate with a sum of money when he is released so that he will not be forced to seek financial help from social service agencies or by returning to criminal activity.

In order to examine just how a group of Day Parolees spent their money, the author examined the financial records of the Sample of thirty Day Parolees. As indicated in Chapter I, these men were on Day Parole in the spring of 1975. After they had been released and their files closed, the author examined the contents of an envelop kept on file that documented the amount and nature of debits made against the inmate's account. These debits were authorized by various officials and represented expenditures from each account that had received credits from the inmate's Day Parole earnings, his incentive pay (where applicable) plus any money sent to him by friends or relatives. Also on file was the amount of money turned over to the inmate upon his release. The amount of the room and board deductions was usually obtained from a list of these debits in the Bursar's Office, however, when this was not available the amount was calculated by multiplying four times the number of days worked. The author's concern was not with the source or amount of the inmate's income but with the amount and nature of each inmate's expenditures while at the Center.

Table 4.1 documents the spending habits of thirty Day Parolees at the Center.

Table 4.1 indicates the thirty Day Parolees spent a total of $9,729.00 during their stay at the Center and they were released with a total of $7,508.00, which represents 43.6 per cent of the total amount of their financial transactions.

Funds Upon Release

Most of the Day Parolees' money (56.4 per cent) was held in trust until they were released. The mean sum upon release was $250.00, the median sum was $124.00 and the range was $0.00 to $1,284.00. This amount depended heavily on such things as the length of the sentence (the longer the sentence the more incentive pay accumulated), the purpose of Day Parole (two of the men in this Sample were attending educational facilities and one was taking part in a Life Skills course), the length of time worked (three Day Parolees did not work at all whereas one man worked a total of sixty days) and the spending habits of the inmate (the one inmate released without funds had previously sent the entire balance of his account to his wife in order to help support their family).

TABLE 4.1

SUMMARY OF THE FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS
OF THIRTY DAY PAROLEES, SPRING, 1975

TRANSACTION[1]	$	%
Funds Upon Discharge	7,508	43.6
Room and Board	2,400	13.9
Support Dependents	1,647	9.6
Day Parole Expenses	1,636	9.5
Canteen	1,152	6.7
Debts	1,066	6.2
Clothing	604	3.5
Hobby Supplies	579	3.4
Personal	359	2.1
Passes	284	1.6
Restitution	2	0.01
TOTAL	17,237	100.1

Table 4.1 would seem to indicate that the Day Parolees and the officials felt that it was generally more important for the Day Parolee to save his funds for release rather than spend them on such things as debits and/or family support. Given the wide range in cash-on-hand-at-release, the median sum is the best measure of central tendency. For these Day Parolees the median was $124.00. This amount of money would not last more than a few days at the present rate of accommodation and food prices. It would appear, then, that while some men were released with quite a lot of money in their pockets, others who had been on Day Parole were released with very little money. In this Study, half of the thirty Day Parolees were released with less than $124.00. For these men, the Day Parole experience did not provide much help by way of reducing their financial dependence on other people. As a result, the claim that Day Parole allows an inmate to earn money for his release is true in an absolute sense but in relative terms his earnings may not last very long once he is released. This claim, then, can be considered to be only partially valid.

To throw more light on the Day Parolees' financial transactions, Table 4.2 examines how the Day Parolees spent their money while at the Center without reference to the amount in their possession upon release.

Table 4.2 shows that the largest single expense incurred by the Day Parolees was their room and board payment. Other major expenditures in descending order of priority were made for:

1. The support of dependents
2. Day Parole expenses related to their community-based activity
3. Canteen treats
4. Debts

TABLE 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY SPENT BY
THIRTY DAY PAROLEES, SPRING, 1975

Expense	Amount in $	Per Cent
Room and Board	2,400	24.7
Support Dependents	1,647	16.9
Day Parole	1,636	16.8
Canteen	1,152	11.8
Debts	1,066	11.0
Clothing	604	6.2
Hobbies	579	6.0
Personal	359	3.7
Passes	284	2.9
Restitution to Center	2	0.02
TOTAL	9,729	100.0

Support of Dependents

Table 4.1 showed that this category accounted for 9.6 per cent of all the Day Parolees' financial transactions. Table 4.2 indicated that this represents 16.9 per cent of the money spent by the Day Parolees while at the Center, excluding the amount they received upon release.

Of the Day Parole Sample (N=30), there were 11 (36.7 per cent) who reported they had their own families. The total number of reported dependents was 33, consisting of 11 wives, 1 brother-in-law and 21 children. In addition, one Day Parolee who was single sent some money to his brother. This contribution was included for a total of 12 men who made contributions to the support of dependents.

Two of the men with families indicated that their pay went directly from their employer into their bank account without first being taken to the Center. These men were not sure exactly how much money was in their account nor did they know how much their wives had withdrawn from this account. These men are included as Day Parolees with dependents but their support of dependents is not known and therefore not included in the total family support of $1,647.00. This sum, then, is somewhat less than the actual amount.

A review of the income distribution of these twelve Day Parolees reveals that five (41.7 per cent) did not make any contributions to the support of their families. Two Day Parolees made contributions of an unknown amount and five made contributions ranging from $50.00 to $1,027.00. For these five contributors, the median contribution was $200.00 and the mean contribution was $329.40. One man contributed $1,027.00 towards the support of his family. This sum alone represents 62.4 per cent of the total known contributions to dependents. Seven Day Parolees (23.3 per cent of the Sample of thirty men or 58.3 per cent of the twelve men with dependents) made contributions to the support of their dependents.

The eleven men with families indicated that six of these families were being supported to Public Social Assistance. A total of sixteen people were involved as dependents. The remaining five families, involving seventeen people, were being supported by the wife's earnings and their previous savings.

It would appear, therefore, that only one man was able to contribute significantly toward the support of his family. This man represents 9.1 per cent of the eleven Day Parolees with families and he represents 3.3 per cent of the Sample. For the others with dependents, however, their contributions were rather limited, from nothing to $280.00. As a result, the claim that Day Parole allows a man to support his dependents does not receive much support.

Payment of Debts

Table 4.1 showed that the payment of debts represented 6.2 per cent of the financial transactions of the Sample. Table 4.2 indicated that debt payments accounted for 11 per cent of the total sum of money spent by the Sample during their stay at the Center, excluding the sum in their possession upon release. A close examination of the financial records of each Day Parolee in the Sample revealed that six Day Parolees (20 per cent) made payments towards debts. The range was $30.00 to $475.00, the median was $96.00, and the mean was $178.00. It can be fairly assumed that most if not all the men had at least some financial committments in the community. These committments could have been met to some extent by the men on Day Parole yet it appears the men and the officials were not actively pursuing a policy to contributing to these debts. Therefore, the claim that Day Parole allows a man to make payments on his debts is only partly confirmed by this Study.

Restitution

Another claim made in conjunction with the financial aspects of Day Parole is that the prisoner can make restitution in regards to certain damages he caused while committing a crime. In this Sample 0.01 per cent of the total inmate financial transactions were devoted to the making of restitution (Table 4.1). Table 4.2 showed that restitution represented 0.02 per cent of the money spent by the men while at the Centre. In this Study, the restitution was made by two inmates ($1.00 each) to the Center for damage they inflicted on institutional property. No restitution was made to the victim of the offender. Therefore, the claim that Day Parole allows a man to make restitution does not receive any support in this Study.

Financial Benefits: Summary

This Study tested the extent to which certain claims about the alleged financial benefits of the Day Parole experience were actually met.

The making of restitution to victims of crime was found to be nonexistant Less than one-quarter of the men in the Sample made debt payments and this amounted to only eleven per cent of the money spent by the men while at the Center. In fact, the men spent more money on Canteen luxuries than reducing their debts. Only one Day Parolee made a sizeable contribution to the support of his family. That Day Parole allows a prisoner to earn more money for his release was the most highly substantiated claim found in this Study. Even this, however, was found to be only marginally valid, given to the low sum of money with which many men were released.

Employment Benefits

In addition to the alleged financial benefits, the officials identified a number of employment benefits relating to the Day Parole experience. Some of the items mentioned by the officials are as follows:

Day Parole allows an inmate to retain his former job.

Day Parole allows an inmate to have a job upon release.

Day Parole allows an inmate to retain his earning power.

Day Parole exposes the inmate to the Work Ethic.

Day Parole allows the inmate to retain or develop job skills.

Retaining The Former Job

In order to determine the extent to which the Day Parolees retain their former jobs, the author asked each one: "When you were sentenced to gaol, were you employed or unemployed at the time?" Also, each man was asked, "Do you have the same job now as you had when you were sentenced? Is it the same type of job?" (Questions 5, 16, Appendix V).

It was found that twelve men (40 per cent of the Sample) claimed they were employed when they were sentenced and eighteen (60 per cent) were unemployed at that time. Of the twelve men who had jobs at the time they were sentenced, six men (50 per cent) had the same job on Day Parole as at the time of sentence[2]. Six men (50 per cent) claimed they had quite different jobs on Day Parole than at the time of sentence. This Study found, then, that for those men who had jobs when they were sentenced, there was a 50-50 chance of retaining that job once Day Parole was authorized.

Job Upon Release

Correctional officials reported that Day Parole at least gave an inmate a chance to have a job once he was released. While the opportunity to retain a Day Parole job may be important, this Study was concerned with how many men did in fact continue their Day Parole jobs once they were released. In order to answer the research question "How many men retained their Day Parole jobs upon release?" the author contacted the Day Parolees or their employers, some four to six months following their release from the Center.

In September, 1975, a telephone call was placed by the author to the place of business at which the Day Parolee worked, asking to speak with the Day Parolee or to the man's supervisor as noted on his file at the Center. In speaking with the supervisor or employer, it was explained that the author was conducting a survey regarding men who had been on Day Parole. The supervisor/employer was asked if the Day Parolee still worked there, or if not, when he last worked there.

The results of the follow-up survey are summarized in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MEN ON DAY PAROLE, SPRING, 1975

Status	f	% (N=27)	% (N=24)
Did Not Work While on Day Parole	3	11.1	
Worked - Fired, laid off or quit before Day Parole expired	8	29.6	33.3
Worked - Until sentence expired but did not return to job once released	4	14.8	16.7
Worked - Retained job after release for			
- up to 1 month	2	7.4	8.3
- 1 to 2 months	4	14.8	16.7
- 4 months and over	6	22.2	25.0
Total Day Parolees for Employment	27	99.9	
Total Day Parolees Who Worked	24		100.0

Of the thirty men in this Sample, twenty-seven (90 per cent) had been granted Day Parole for the purpose of employment. Three men did not work at all even though Day Parole had been granted for that purpose. Of the twenty-four men on Day Parole who worked, twelve of them (50 per cent) did not return to the Day Parole job once their sentence was over. Eight of these twelve men were fired, laid off or quit before their Day Parole expired. The remaining four managed to hold the Day Parole job until their sentence expired. They did not return to work after that.

There were twelve men (50 per cent of those who worked) who successfully held their Day Parole job while at the Center and continued to keep that job for a period of time once their sentence had expired. The range was from four days to six months after release. These findings show that as far as the claim of Day Parole providing a job for an inmate once his sentence is over, there again was a 50-50 chance he would keep his job at least for a while after release.

Particular attention was paid to the six men (25 per cent of those who worked) who retained their Day Parole job for at least four months after they had been released from prison. Five of these men had the same job during and after Day Parole as they had when they were sentenced. For these five nen, representing 20.8 per cent of those who worked, Day Parole allowed them to retain the job and the skills and earning power related to that job. Four of these five men claimed to have a family to support. Five of the six men reported they had been fully employed during a six month period prior to their sentencing. The sixth man had been employed for four of the six months prior to going to prison. (See Question 7, Appendix V).. Therefore, the mean number of months reportedly employed by these six men in a six month period before going to prison was 5.7 months. This represents an unemployment rate of 5 per cent[3]. Five of these men reportedly had one job during this time and the sixth man reported he held two jobs during this time (See Question 8, Appendix V). Therefore, the mean number of jobs per man, (i.e. the job turnover rate) is 1.16.

The picture emerging from this Study is one where married inmates with a fairly stable employment history were most likely to retain their previous job once Day Parole was granted and to continue with the same job once released from the Center.

By way of contrast, an examination of the interview responses of the remaining eighteen men (75 per cent of those who worked) reveals that only six men (33.3 per cent) claimed to have families to support. These eighteen men reported to have worked an average of 3.5 months (ranging from 0 to 6 months) during the six month period prior to being sentenced to imprisonment. This represents an unemployment rate of 42 per cent[4]. In terms of the reported number of jobs held during this period, two respondents apparently did not work at all and the remaining sixteen men showed a job turnover rate of 1.71 during the period. As a result, the findings of this Study indicate that the men who failed to retain their Day Parole job either completely or even up to two months were likely to be single, have spent less time working during a fixed period prior to going to prison and had held more jobs during that same period than their counterparts who kept their Day Parole job for at least four months.

Retaining Earning Power

In order to determine the extent to which men on Day Parole retained their earning power, each man in the Sample was asked "When you were working, how much did you earn?" (i.e. before going to prison) and "How much do you earn now?" (i.e. on Day Parole). The responses are presented in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4

REPORTED RATES OF PAY OF DAY PAROLE JOB COMPARED TO PREVIOUS JOB

Rate of Pay	Number of Day Parolees	%
More Pay	1	3.8
Same Job (Same Pay)	5	19.2
Similar Pay	7	26.9
Less Pay	13	50.0
TOTAL	26*	99.9

*Of the four remaining members of the Day Parole Sample, three were students and one was incapable of working for medical reasons.

Table 4.4 indicates that one-half of those on Day Parole for employment purposes claimed to have earned more than or about the same as before going to prison. (A respondent was deemed to be earning similar pay if the amount was within $0.25 per hour of the previous pay.) The other half earned less on Day Parole than they were making "on the street". Included in this latter group are those who did not work at all while on Day Parole, as well as the respondent who claimed he worked exclusively at criminal activity before being sentenced to prison.

Thus, the claim that Day Parole allows a man to retain his earning power is true for half of the Day Parolees in this Sample.

The Work Ethic

Many officials involved with the Day Parole Program believed that by working while on Day Parole, an inmate learns or re-learns the Work Ethic. The particular items specified had to do with getting up and off to work on time, putting in a good day's work, returning "home" regularly and on time, paying room and board, and learning how to budget and spend money wisely. In short, the belief was that working on Day Parole would somehow improve the employment part of an inmate's life.

Going to Work

In terms of getting up and off to work on time, Chapter III showed that routines involved here do not really place much responsibility on the inmates. If a Day Parolee does not wake up when he is supposed to, he is aroused by one of the Center's Correction Officers. Breakfast is prepared by the Center's Cooks, with the help of some inmates who are not on Day Parole. The Center's Driver transports the men in a van to a nearby bus stop from which point the men usually take a bus to work. It is only from this point that the Day Parolees are truly on their own. During the more crucial earlier part of the day, the Center's Staff take most of the responsibility for getting the Day Parolees going[5].

A Good Day's Work

Part of the Work Ethic referred to by some of the Day Parole authorities included the notion of a stable employment situation. Those involved in the Program, including the respondents who worked at the Institution and the Center, saw the routine of daily work as one of the benefits of the Day Parole experience. However, as shown in Table 4.3, eleven of the twenty-seven Day Parolees (41 per cent) who had been granted Day Parole for the purpose of employment did not have a stable employment routine while on Day Parole. Either they did not work at all in the community or else they were fired, laid off or quit before their Day Parole expired. If the four Day Parolees who were steadily employed while on Day Parole but did not return to work once they were released are included with the eleven others who faced a break in their employment routine, there becomes a total of fifteen Day Parolees (56 per cent of those on Day Parole for the purpose of employment) who did not have a stable employment routine during the Day Parole experience.

This fact seems to indicate that although one of the objectives of the Day Parole experience was to provide a stable employment routine, less than half (44 per cent) of the Day Parolees had this experience.

One of the things involved in doing a good day's work presumably is the worker's attitude toward his job. Whether or not a person likes his/her job likely will have some influence on how the job is performed. This, in turn, has influence on such matters as firing, laying off or quitting which, as seen in Table 4.3, is the largest single employment status category in the Sample. To find out how the Day Parolees viewed their jobs, they were asked how they liked their Day Parole jobs and how they felt these compared with their usual job. (See Questions 18, 19, Appendix V). These responses are presented in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5

JOB ATTITUDES OF THE DAY PAROLEES
WHO WORKED, SPRING, 1975

Attitude Toward Day Parole Job	f	%
Liked - not at all	5	21.7
- a little bit	5	21.7
- pretty good	7	30.4
- very good	6	26.1
TOTAL*	23	99.9
Compared with usual job		
- a lot worse	5	21.7
- a bit worse	7	30.4
- about the same	7	30.4
- a bit better	2	8.7
- a lot better	2	8.7
TOTAL*	23	99.9

*One respondent who was not working at the time of interview later found work before his sentence expired.

Table 4.5 shows the Day Parolees generally looked favorably on their Day Parole jobs but when compared to their usual jobs, over half of the Day Parolees felt they were working at worse jobs. These findings indicate that within the life style imposed on the men by virtue of their imprisonment, their Day Parole jobs were looked at favorably, even though only four of the men felt they had better jobs on Day Parole than previously.

Coming "Home" in the Evening

The fact that the men must return to the Center by a specified time unless special permission is granted or else face the possibility of being charged for being late indicates again the predominance of institutional concerns. Day Parolees cannot "go for a beer after work" with their co-workers without running a high risk of facing violation charges and being returned to The Fort.

Work Related Social Events

In response to the question "Are you allowed to take part in social events connected with your job?" (Question 31, Appendix V) all the respondents replied "NO". In some cases, there were no social events offered. Where such events did exist, it was a privilege to which the men on Day Parole were not entitled. Putting in overtime was not actively encouraged by officials at the Center although it could be granted upon request by the man's employer. Such requests were frequently approved.

Room and Board

The room and board deductions were viewed by many of the officials as a way of getting the men used to the practice before they were released. It was an attempt by the Center to make the Day Parole experience as close as possible to usual routines "on the streets."

In order to determine how the Day Parolees viewed the matter of room and board, the thirty men in the Sample were asked, "How do you feel about the deductions made for room and board?" Their responses were then categorized as positive, neutral or negative in terms of the practice. Table 4.6 summarizes the responses.

TABLE 4.6

DAY PAROLEE ATTITUDES TOWARD ROOM AND BOARD DEDUCTIONS

Attitude	f	%
Positive	1	3.7
Neutral	15	55.6
Negative	11	40.7
TOTAL*	27	100.0

*Two Day Parolees attending education facilities did not pay Room and Board and, therefore, offered no comment. One Day Parolee's response was incomprehendable.

Table 4.6 indicates that just over one-half of the Day Parolees did not mind too much paying room and board. The Neutral category represents the responses of the men who indicated they accepted the practice of paying room and board. Included here were a few comments about poor meals but on the whole these men did not object to the deduction. While not heartily endorsing the practice, they felt it was reasonable. Also included are several men who seemed to feel that this deduction was a price they had to pay to get out of the Center.

There were some men, however, who did object strongly to the deductions. In addition to complaints about the meals and the feeling that they should be getting much better service for $80.00 per month, there were some who felt the idea was not right. As one Day Parolee put it "It's a pain in the ass! To pay to stay in gaol is a farce!" Another reported, "It's a bunch of shit. You're doing a sentence so why pay your way?" The feeling expressed by this group was that the deductions were basically unjust because they were already "Paying a Price" in the form of their imprisonment. Complaints about poor food compounded their negative feelings.

Only one Day Parolee spoke positively of the practice "It's good. It's a responsibility. Nothing is free. You have to pay for what you do."

From this discussion, it is obvious that the Day Parolees do not see the room and board deductions in the same light as the program officials. Most passively accept the practice and many see it is just another silly rule they have to follow in order to stay on Day Parole.

Handling Money

In terms of budgetting and spending money wisely, all purchases made by the Day Parolees, excluding the three dollars per day for travel, coffee breaks, tobacco, and other job-related expenses, had to be approved by the officials at the Center. Any money left over from the three dollars was handed in each evening to a staff member. Officials at the Center tried to keep the circulation of money to a minimum. One of the terms and conditions of Day Parole was that all money received from employment was to be turned over to the Center. A Day Parolee was not supposed to operate his own bank account.

As illustrated in Table 4.2, the Sample of Day Parolees spent just as much on Canteen luxuries, extra clothing, hobbies and passes as they did on supporting their dependents and paying off debts.

The findings of this part of the Study seem to indicate that institutional routines, policies and procedures take precedence over practices that would give the Day Parolees the degree of financial responsibility they would be required to undertake if they were both working and residing in the community.

Retain and/or Develop Job Skills

Day Parole is frequently said to benefit the inmate by enabling him to practice the job skills he already possesses and/or to develop other occupational skills. In order to explore these areas, the men on Day Parole were asked if they had any special skills or training, could they use their skills on their Day Parole job and were they learning any new job skills (See Questions 11, 20, 23, Appendix V).

None of the Day Parolees could be considered as highly skilled (See Day Parolee Profile, Appendix III). None had their trade "papers" although several had taken some formal trade training. The men in the Sample could be best described as unskilled and semi-skilled. In discussing their skills, it was left to the men to decide if they had special skills or experience that made their employment services of particular interest to an employer.

Table 4.7 summarizes the responses in terms of job skills.

TABLE 4.7

GENERAL LEVEL OF REPORTED JOB SKILLS OF DAY PAROLEES, SPRING, 1975

Level of Skill	f	%
Some Skills	9	33
No Skills	18	67
TOTAL	27	100

Table 4.7 indicates that two-thirds of the Day Parole Sample felt they did not have any special skills, training or experience to offer an employer.

Table 4.8 summarizes the use of job skills and learning new skills for the Day Parolees who worked.

TABLE 4.8

USE OF JOB SKILLS AND LEARNING NEW
JOB SKILLS FOR DAY PAROLEES,
SPRING, 1975

Level of Skill	USED SKILLS Yes	USED SKILLS No	LEARNED NEW SKILLS Yes	LEARNED NEW SKILLS No
Some Skills (N=9)	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	6 (67%)	3 (33%)
No Skills (N=18)			7 (39%)	11 (61%)

Of the nine men who reported they had some skills or special experience, six (67 per cent) replied that their Day Parole job let them use this skill. Of the remaining three men who claimed that Day Parole did not allow them the opportunity to use their skills, two did not work. The remaining man, an experienced carpenter and construction foreman, chose to work in a poultry processing plant, hanging poultry and cleaning metal tanks. He reported he would be going home to a community outside Edmonton as soon as he was released.

For the semi-skilled Day Parolees, then, two-thirds were able to locate a job that let them make use of what skills and experience they had. One-third could be considered to be underemployed in that they did not work or were working at jobs demanding fewer skills than they ordinarily performed.

Table 4.8 also shows that for the men who considered themselves somewhat skilled, two-thirds believed they were also learning skills and gaining valuable experience while on Day Parole.

Table 4.8 further indicates that the men who saw themselves as unskilled fared somewhat less favorably in terms of learning new skills than their semi-skilled counterparts. For the unskilled group, nearly two-thirds claimed that their Day Parole job did not help them learn any new job skills. Many of these men felt their jobs were boring. Not surprisingly, this group contained the men who quit their jobs before their Day Parole had expired or had been fired or laid off. Also in this group were the men who had the higher unemployment rate and job turnover rate before coming to prison.

By way of contrast, the bulk of the semi-skilled group consisted of the men with the lower unemployment and job turnover rates. These men saw their jobs in a more favorable light than their fellow Day Parolees who were basically unskilled. These men could see something of a future ahead of them in the job. Not surprisingly, most of the men in this group had the same job before, during and after the Day Parole experience.

As far as job skills is concerned, then, the men who "had something going for themselves" before their placement on Day Parole usually "kept the ball rolling" once they were on Day Parole. This momentum seems to have carried over, too, into the post-release period. For those men who "didn't have much going for themselves" before being placed on Day Parole, the Day Parole experience did little to change the situation. By and large their disadvantaged employment situation was perpetuated and in all likelihood would remain basically unchanged upon their release from the Center.

Employment Benefits: Summary

This Study tested the extent to which certain claims about the alleged employment benefits of the Day Parole experience were actually met. There was found to be a 50-50 chance of retaining a previous job once Day Parole was authorized. There was found to be a 50-50 chance of keeping a Day Parole job at least for a while after release. There was a 50-50 chance for an inmate to retain his earning power. The achievement of the Work Ethic was found to be hampered severely nearly at every turn by practices associated with the smooth and efficient running of an institution. The retention and/or development of job skills was found to be highest among semi-skilled Day Parolees and lowest for the unskilled Day Parolees.

Part 2. Analysis of Data From Official Records

Introduction

Officials at the Center have kept certain records over the years since Day Parole has been in operation from there. The author was able to secure these records and present the ones of particular relevance to Day Parole in this Study.

Source of Data

The single most valuable document was the Day Parole Register (See Appendix VI). This form contained certain information about every inmate who had been on Day Parole at the Center.

Method of Data Collection

There were many incomplete entries in the Register so the author spent countless hours searching through inmate files in an effort to obtain the required data. Selected information contained in the Register was then coded, key-punched and subjected to selected statistical analyses through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences. The author and the coder worked together closely at this stage of the Study. Any unusual-appearing entries were referred to the author for clarification. In such cases, reference was made to the official documents on the Inmate's File. Also at this stage of the Study, there were noted to be periodic errors on the Day Parole Register, such as "February 31, 1973" or typing errors where "Jan. 1973" should actually have been "Jun. 1973". The author feels that the sequential nature of many of the entries plus the careful work of the coder eliminated many of the obvious errors on the Register. This does not, however, rule out the possibility of the original entries on the Register being in error. If such errors did exist and did not appear unusual or illogical, they would not likely have been noticed by the author or the coder. As a result these errors, such as the length of Day Parole calculated from available dates, would have been coded and processed accordingly. Throughout this stage, the author periodically checked the calculations of the coder. Very few errors in coding were detected and most of them involved a difference of one or two days in a time period, such as the length of the period of Day Parole.

The keypunching and computer services were performed by the Computing Center, University of Alberta.

Variable List

The data used in this part of the Study is taken directly from the Day Parole Register. The following list of variables is used:

Age

Racial Origin

Length of Sentence

Year of Release on Day Parole

Length of Day Parole

Use of Day Parole (Activity)

Earnings

Termination

Method of Analysis

The data is summarized and presented in tables using standard techniques of descriptive statistics. Where appropriate, these characteristics are compared in the form of bivariate tables. In an effort to elaborate on the relationship between these characteristics, procedures of elementary multivariate analysis are used.

The measure of association used throughout this Study is Phi because it is appropriate at all levels of measurement. The variables noted above represent different levels of measurement which could be combined in a number of ways. Phi is the only consistent measure available and was selected for that reason. Since the Phi coefficient is related to chi-square, it is possible to test the significance of Phi by referring to a chi-square table with one degree of freedom (Ferguson, 1959:196-199). In this Study, the large N, 1294 in most cases, makes such a test appropriate. As a result, measures of association where Phi $\geq$ .06 will be considered to be significant at the level P = .05. Measures of Phi less than .06 will be considered so weak as to be insignificant. Therefore, values of Phi between .06 and .15 will be considered weak. Values of Phi from .16 to .25 will be deemed moderately weak and values of Phi .26 and greater will be considered to show a moderate association between characteristics.

For a detailed presentation of all the values of Phi, see Appendix IX. The following discussion is based on this data.

The Day Parole Population

The Day Parole Register is designed to record certain information about every inmate at the Center who had been granted a Day Parole Certificate. Not all inmates listed on the Register, however, were actually granted a Day Parole Certificate. There were a few inmates in the Register who had been returned to the Institution or escaped from the Center before the Day Parole Certificate actually arrived at the Center. In all likelihood the National Parole Board had granted Day Parole, the Parole Office had been notified, they in turn telephoned the Center and before the official documents arrived at the Center, the inmate had somehow "goofed things up".

The data collection for this Study began in March, 1975.

A review of the Day Parole Register revealed that, with the exception of a number of omissions, all Day Parolees released on Day Parole up to and including December 31, 1974, were entered in the Register and were considered to have completed the period of Day Parole. Each inmate registered was given a Day Parole Number and as the period of Day Parole progressed, various notations and entries were made about the man.

For the Day Parole population, the author selected all those on the Register who had been granted and released on Day Parole up to the end of 1974. Inmates granted Day Parole in 1974 but not released on Day Parole until 1975 were not included in this Study. The Register was basically up to date on these cases, with the omissions previously mentioned. The Register was not up to date on those inmates released on Day Parole in 1975 so the decision was made to restrict the Study to all those released up to the end of 1974.

By using the consecutively issued Day Parole Numbers as listed on the Register, the Day Parole population involved the first 1,302 cases. (Day Parole Numbers 1 through 1302.) A card-sorter count revealed only 1294 cards (cases). A search for the eight missing cases revealed the following:

#494 - no such number (...492, 493, 495, 496...)

#570 - returned to Institution before released on Day Parole.

#781 - unlawfully at large before Day Parole arrived.

#834 - entered in error, later appeared as #873.

#1032 - unlawfully at large before Day Parole arrived.

#1122 - returned to Institution before Day Parole arrived.

#1299 - released in 1975.

#1300 - released in 1975.

As a result, the Day Parole population for this Study was the first 1,294 men granted and released on Day Parole from the first Day Parolee released on December 16, 1968 through those released on December 31, 1974, a period of six years.

Age

Table 4.9 illustrates the distribution of age (on admission) of the Day Parole population.

TABLE 4.9

THE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DAY PAROLEES
1969 - 1974[6]

Age Group	f	%
16 - 17	147	11.4
18 - 20	380	29.4
21 - 24	308	23.8
25 - 29	190	14.7
30 - 34	99	7.7
35 - 39	56	4.3
40 - 49	85	6.6
50 - 59	26	2.0
60 and over	3	0.2
TOTAL	1294	100.1

Table 4.9 shows a positively skewed distribution where the modal interval is 18 to 20 years. The range is 16 years to 63 years. 64.6 per cent of the Day Parolees were 24 years

old or younger at the time of their admission to the Center. Statistics computed from the ungrouped data show a mean age of 24.9 years, the mode is 20.0 years and the median is 21.9 years. In terms of age, then, those selected for Day Parole tended to be in their late teens or early twenties.

Age and Year

It is also possible to examine the age distribution of the Day Parolees during the six year history of the Program. This is presented in Table 4.10.

TABLE 4.10

THE AGE GROUPS OF THE DAY PAROLEES AND THEIR YEAR OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM

Age Group	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
	YEAR						
16-24	46 (56.8%)	154 (59.5%)	131 (57.2%)	153 (64.8%)	149 (70.0%)	202 (73.2%)	835
25-39	24 (29.6%)	76 (29.3%)	67 (29.3%)	73 (30.9%)	47 (22.1%)	58 (21.0%)	345
40 and over	11 (13.6%)	29 (11.2%)	31 (13.5%)	10 (4.2%)	17 (8.0%)	16 (5.8%)	114
TOTAL	81 (100.0%)	259 (100.0%)	229 (100.0%)	236 (99.9%)	213 (100.1%)	276 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .12

Table 4.10 indicates that as the Day Parole program progressed, the participants were younger. This partly reflects the transition of the Center from an alcohol treatment facility, usually for older inmates with recognizable drinking problems, to a community correction facility dealing with all offenders. Another factor contributing to this trend is the decreasing age of the inmates admitted to The Fort. It was from here that most inmates in the Study were chosen for Day Parole. A review of the Annual Reports of the Corrections Branch from 1969-70 to 1973-74 reveals that the per cent of males aged 16 - 24 years admitted to The Fort rose from 49.3 per cent to 61.1 per cent during this time.

As noted previously, officials involved in the selection of men for Day Parole voiced considerable concern for young people in prison. This concern is reflected in Table 4.10 which shows that by 1974 nearly three-quarters of the men on Day Parole were under twenty-five years of age.

The relationship between age and time of participation on Day Parole, whereby the Day Parolees tended to be younger over time, is weak. This association is not subject to conditions of race or sentence length.

Racial Origin

Beside the Institution Number given to each inmate admitted to the Center, the officials noted the self-reported racial origin of the Day Parolees. During the years 1969 and 1970, racial data was sporadically recorded. Since 1971, however, all racial origins were noted on the Register. Table 4.11 presents this information.

Table 4.11 indicates that most Day Parolees were White, some were Native and a few Other. Due to incomplete recording, the precise proportion of each racial origin in terms of the entire population cannot be determined.

TABLE 4.11

THE RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE DAY PAROLE POPULATION, 1969 - 1974

Racial Origin	f	%
Caucasian	768	59.4
Metis	132	10.2
Treaty Indian	150	11.6
Oriental	3	0.2
Negro	8	0.6
Not Known	233	18.0

Race and Year

It is possible, however, to examine the racial issue since 1971, from when complete data was available from the Register (and through file searches by the author). This information is presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12 indicates that about one-quarter of the Day Parolees at the Center have been Native. The rest have been White, with the exception of the eleven men previously noted.

Table 4.12 also indicates from 1971 to 1973 there was a trend to increased use of Day Parole by Caucasian inmates and naturally, less use of Day Parole by non-Caucasian inmates. In 1974, however, there was a noticeable change in this trend whereby Native inmates were taking more part in the Day Parole Program. This is of particular interest in view of the general decline in the number and proportion of Native inmates in Provincial Correctional Institutions (See Appendix VIII). It would seem, therefore, that fewer people in general are going to prison. Fewer Native people are going to gaol and more of those who did were being placed on Day Parole. While it is not known what more recent Day Parole data would show in this regard, it would appear that correctional officials were becoming more concerned about Day Parole for Native inmates. This could also indicate that Native inmates were showing more interest in applying for Day Parole.

TABLE 4.12

THE RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE DAY PAROLEES AND THEIR YEAR OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM

	YEAR				
Race	1971	1972	1973	1974	
Native	63 (27.5%)	61 (25.8%)	50 (23.5%)	81 (29.3%)	255
White	166 (72.5%)	175 (74.2%)	163 (76.5%)	195 (70.7%)	699
TOTAL*	229 (100.0%)	236 (100.0%)	213 (100.0%)	276 (100.0%)	954

*N=954. There were 233 cases where the racial origin was not recorded.

Phi = .004

The relationship between race and year of participation, whereby White Day Parolees were more likely to be involved in the earlier period and Native Day Parolees were more likely to be involved as the Program developed, is insignificant. This association featuring slightly greater Native involvement over time is particularly true for young Day Parolees and those serving longer sentences.

Race and Age

It is possible to look at the age distributions of the racial groupings. Table 4.13 presents this data.

TABLE 4.13

THE KNOWN RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE
DAY PAROLEES AND THE AGE GROUPS

Race	16 - 24	25 - 39	40 and Over	
Native	166 (23.9%)	99 (35.7%)	17 (18.9%)	282
White	528 (76.1%)	178 (64.3%)	73 (81.1%)	779
TOTAL*	694 (100.0%)	277 (100.0%)	90 (100.0%)	1061

*N=1061

Phi = .08

Table 4.13 does not show an obvious pattern in terms of race and age. Native Day Parolees were most heavily represented in the middle age group and White Day Parolees dominated the older age group. By regrouping the ages as up to twenty-five and twenty-five and over, it becomes apparent that White Day Parolees tended to be slightly younger than Native Day Parolees. This association is weak. This relationship is not changed by the year of participation but it is strengthened slightly for men serving longer sentences.

Length of Sentence

From two columns on the Day Parole Register, "Date Committed" and "Possible Discharge Date", it was possible to calculate the number of days between the time the inmate was sentenced and the estimated date of release with remission[7]. This period of time represents the length of the sentence to be served. In many cases, a sentence of a specific number of months was imposed (i.e. 6 months, one year, or two years less one day). In other cases, however, the length of sentence represented a complicated series of sentences, some concurrent and some consecutive. Many of the Day Parolees were serving sentences for major offences under the Criminal Code together with minor offences under statutes such as the Highway Traffic Act or the Liquor Control Act.

Table 4.14 presents the length of sentences to be served by the Day Parole Population. It was constructed by using the calculation of the probable number of days to be served, for example 248 days, and then relating that figure to the nearest month of imposed sentence, which in this example would be twelve months. Similarly, an inmate who had been sentenced to imprisonment for a period of nine months would, with remission, likely serve about 185 days in custody.

TABLE 4.14

THE LENGTH OF SENTENCES TO BE SERVED BY THE DAY PAROLE POPULATION, 1969 - 1974

LENGTH OF SENTENCE Days in Custody	Nearest Original Sentence in Months	f	%
22 - 112	1 - 5	211	16.3
113 - 237	6 - 11	567	43.8
238 - 361	12 - 17	315	24.3
362 and Over	18 and Over	201	15.6
TOTAL		1294	100.0

The ungrouped data summarized in Table 4.14 has a range from 22 to 736 days, with a mean number of days to serve of 211 days. This represents a mean original sentence of approximately ten months. The mode is 248 days to serve which represents an original sentence of twelve months. The median is 185 days to serve and this represents a sentence of nine months imposed by a Court. Due to the presence of some twenty-four inmates serving sentences of 498 days or more (i.e. they were serving prisoners for more than two years[8]), which would greatly influence the mean, it would seem the median is the best measure of central tendency of the sentences being served by the Day Parole Population. Table 4.14 shows that sixty per cent of the imposed sentences were for less than twelve months imprisonment. Expressed in other terms 16.3 per cent of the sentences were Short Term (1 - 5 months), 68.1 per cent were Medium Term (6 - 17 months) and 15.6 per cent were Long Term (18 months and over).

Length of Sentence Over Time

In addition to determining the central tendency of the sentences to be served by the Day Parole population, it is possible to examine this characteristic over time. This data is presented in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15 illustrates that as the program developed, the sentences of the Day Parolees generally were longer. There were fewer Short sentences and more Medium sentences. This could be related to selection practices. Initially, the officials seem to have been more prepared to consider Day Parole for Short term inmates than they were as time went on. This could indicate an initial selection bias in favor of those serving less serious offences. The data available in this Study is insufficient to explore this possibility further.

In Chapter III, it was noted that the time factor is of major importance in the granting of Day Parole. This is particularly true for Short Term offenders where it was not generally considered to be worthwhile to commence the Day Parole procedures. It was felt there was insufficient time to process the Day Parole application. It often took the National Parole Board and Parole Service a month to receive the application, do the necessary investigations and arrive at a decision. This was often in addition to whatever plans institutional personnel had for the offender, such as

TABLE 4.15

THE DAY PAROLEE'S LENGTH OF SENTENCE AND THEIR YEAR OF PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM

Length of Sentence	YEAR 1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
Short (1 - 5 months)	18 (22.2%)	63 (24.3%)	49 (21.4%)	31 (13.1%)	24 (11.3%)	26 (9.4%)	211
Medium (6 - 17 months)	50 (61.7%)	155 (59.8%)	146 (63.8%)	173 (73.4%)	155 (72.8%)	203 (73.5%)	882
Long (18 months and over)	13 (16.0%)	41 (15.8%)	34 (14.8%)	32 (13.5%)	34 (16.0%)	47 (17.0%)	201
TOTAL	81	259	229	236	213	276	1294
	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	99.9	

Phi = .05

a period of Alcoholism Treatment at the Center. It was generally agreed that unless there were extenuating circumstances, Day Parole would not usually be considered for sentences less than four months. Judging from Table 4.15 this selection guideline became more important over time.

Another possible explanation is that the sentences of the pool of inmates from which the Day Parolees were selected also were getting longer. As noted earlier, there were fewer persons going to gaol in 1974 than in 1969 and maybe those who did go to prison where doing so far a longer period of time. A review of the Annual Reports of the Corrections Branch 1969-70 and 1973-74 reveals the percentage of sentenced admissions to The Fort (male) for sentences of six months and more rose from 19.9 per cent to 28.8 per cent during this time.

The relationship between sentence length and year of participation in the Day Parole Program, where the sentences tended to be longer over time, is insignificant irregardless of the age of the men. This is true for White Day Parolees but more so for Native Day Parolees.

Sentence Length and Age

Given the previously noted importance of age and the length of sentence in the Day Parole program, the relationship between these factors was examined. The results are presented in Table 4.16.

TABLE 4.16

THE DAY PAROLEES' LENGTH OF SENTENCE AND AGE GROUP

Length of Sentence	Age 16 - 24 years	 25 - 39 years	 40 years and over	
Short (1 - 5 months)	117 (14.0%)	65 (18.8%)	29 (25.4%)	211
Medium (6 - 17 months)	583 (69.8%)	227 (65.8%)	72 (63.2%)	882
Long (18 months and over)	135 (16.2%)	53 (15.4%)	13 (11.4%)	201
TOTAL	835 (100.0%)	345 (100.0%)	114 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .07

Table 4.16 shows an increasing proportion of older Day Parolees serving short sentences and an increasing proportion of younger Day Parolees serving longer sentences. This indicates that the younger Day Parolees would tend to be serving longer sentences than the older Day Parolees. This association is weak. That older Day Parolees would be more likely serving shorter sentences is particularly true for White Day Parolees but not Native Day Parolees. The year of participation in the Program does not change the original relationship between sentence length and age.

If the length of sentence is used as one indicator of the seriousness of criminal behavior, Table 4.16 indicates that the younger Day Parolees were serving sentences for somewhat more serious criminal behavior than the older Day

Parolees. As previously noted, nearly two-thirds of the Day Parolees were under twenty-five years of age. Therefore, in spite of the apparent seriousness of their criminal activity, it appears that the Day Parole officials were very much concerned about these young people in prison and made considerable effort to get them involved in a community based activity (time permitting of course).

Length of Sentence and Race

It is also possible to look at the variables of racial origin and length of sentence. Table 4.17 presents this data.

TABLE 4.17

THE DAY PAROLEES' LENGTH OF SENTENCE
AND KNOWN RACIAL ORIGIN

Length of Sentence	Known Racial Origin Native	 White	
Short (1 - 5 months)	47 (16.7%)	104 (13.4%)	151
Medium (6 - 17 months)	194 (68.8%)	546 (70.1%)	740
Long (18 months and over)	41 (14.6%)	129 (16.5%)	170
TOTAL	282 (100.1%)	779 (100.0%)	1061

Phi = .06

Table 4.17 shows Native Day Parolees to have a higher representation in the Short range sentences and smaller representation in the Medium and Long range sentences than White Day Parolees. This indicates that Native Day Parolees were generally serving shorter sentences than their White counterparts. Assuming that sentence length is an indicator of the seriousness of criminal behavior, Native persons selected for Day Parole could be considered to have committed slightly less serious offences than White persons selected for Day Parole.

The relationship between sentence length and race, whereby White Day Parolees tended to be serving longer sentences than Native Day Parolees, is weak. This fact was true only for young men and for those released in the earlier portion of the Program.

These findings may indicate a selection bias in favor of White prisoners or it may be that the Native persons admitted to The Fort were also serving shorter sentences than White prisoners. This issue could not be further explored in this Study because of insufficient information.

Length of Day Parole

It is possible to determine the length of time that each member of the Day Parole population was on Day Parole. This is calculated from the Day Parole Register as the difference between "Date of Release on Day Parole" and "Date Day Parole Completed, Terminated or Suspended". In most cases, this was a routine calculation. In the case where the inmate was not released, however, the calculation is based on "Date Day Parole Authorized" and "Possible

Discharge Date". In cases where Day Parole was terminated or suspended because of a violation, the calculation was based on "Date of Release on Day Parole" and "Possible Discharge Date". Some examples are as follows:

Day Parolee #1288 (successfully completed)

Date of Release on Day Parole - 12 Dec. 74

Date Day Parole Completed - 12 Jan. 75

Length of Day Parole = 12 Dec. 74 through 12 Jan. 75
= 32 days

Day Parolee #1289 (not released)

Date Day Parole Authorized - 2 Dec. 74

Date of Possible Discharge - 15 Feb. 75

Length of Day Parole = 2 Dec. 74 through 15 Feb. 75
= 76 Days

Day Parolee #1297 (violated)

Date of Release on Day Parole - 19 Dec. 74

Possible Discharge Date - 15 April 75

Length of Day Parole = 19 Dec. 74 through 15 April 75
= 118 Days

In cases where the length of Day Parole initially appeared to be inordinately long, such as exceeding 150 days, the author checked the effective and termination dates on the Day Parole Certificate. These dates were used to determine the length of Day Parole.

Table 4.18 presents the distribution of the lengths of the Day Parole period.

Table 4.18 shows that one-third of the Day Parole Population was on Day Parole for less than one month. Ninety per cent were on Day Parole for less than three months. The ungrouped data shows a mean of 52 days (7.4 weeks), a median of 42.6 days (6.1 weeks) and a mode of 20 days (2.9 weeks). The range was from 1 day to 371 days (53 weeks).

TABLE 4.18

THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE, 1969 - 1974

Length of Day Parole: Days	Length of Day Parole: Months (Approximate)	f	%	F
1 - 7		24	1.9	1.9
8 - 14		111	8.6	10.4
15 - 21		130	10.0	20.5
22 - 30	up to 1	167	12.9	33.4
31 - 61	1 up to 2	487	37.6	71.0
62 - 92	2 up to 3	232	17.9	88.9
93 - 126	3 up to 4	80	6.2	95.1
127 - 185	4 up to 6	42	3.2	98.4
186 and Over	6 and Over	21	1.6	100.0
TOTAL		1294	100.0	

Table 4.18 indicates a relatively short period on Day Parole for community-based activities, considering, as we did in Table 4.14, that the sentences imposed on the Day Parole population had a mean of about 10 months, and mode of twelve months and a median of nine months.

Length of Day Parole and Sentence Length

As noted previously in the discussion of the selection of men for Day Parole, the time element is of utmost importance. The length of the sentence imposed by a Court often determines in large part the time available for Day Parole. Table 4.19 presents the relationship between the length of sentence and the length of Day Parole.

TABLE 4.19

THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE AND THE LENGTH OF SENTENCE OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Length of Day Parole	Length of Sentence Short (1 - 5 Months)	 Medium (6 - 17 Months)	 Long (18 Months and Over)	
Short (up to 2 months)	198 (93.8%)	592 (67.1%)	129 (64.2%)	919
Long (2 months and Over)	13 (6.2%)	290 (32.9%)	72 (35.8%)	375
TOTAL	211 (100.0%)	882 (100.0%)	201 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .21

Table 4.19 shows the highest proportion of Short Day Paroles to be within the Short sentence category. Similarly, the most Long Day Paroles occur within the Long sentence category. In other words, the length of Day Parole varies directly with the length of sentence, although the relationship is not as pronounced for Medium or Long sentences. Table 4.19 indicates generally that the longer the sentence, the more likely there will be a long term of Day Parole. The moderately weak association between sentence length and Day Parole length is not changed by conditions of age, race, or year of participation. This association is stronger for students than workers on Day Parole.

Day Parole Length and Age

It is possible to examine the relationship between age and length of Day Parole. Table 4.20 presents this data.

TABLE 4.20

THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE AND THE
AGE GROUP OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Length of Day Parole	Age 16 - 24	 25 - 39	 40 and Over	
Up to 1 month	238 (28.5%)	139 (40.3%)	55 (48.2%)	432
1 up to 2 months	303 (36.3%)	141 (40.9%)	43 (37.7%)	487
2 up to 4 months	239 (28.6%)	58 (16.8%)	15 (13.2%)	312
4 months and over	55 (6.6%)	7 (2.0%)	1 (0.9%)	63
TOTAL	835 (100.0%)	345 (100.0%)	114 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .19

Table 4.20 shows that the youngest age group has a higher proportion of its members in the longer periods of Day Parole (2 months and over) than the old Day Parolees. Conversely, the older Day Parolees make up the bulk of the shorter periods of Day Parole (up to 2 months). This indicates that the younger Day Parolees are more likely to be on Day Parole longer than older Day Parolees. This is understandable because, as noted earlier, the younger Day

Parolees also tended to be serving longer sentences than the older Day Parolees. The younger men therefore have slightly more opportunity to be on Day Parole, given the importance of the time factor in the selection of Day Parolees. The moderately weak relationship, whereby younger men tended to be on Day Parole for longer periods of time than older men, was not changed by a factor such as sentence length. It was not as pronounced, however, for Native Day Parolees, for those released in 1973-74 or for men on Day Parole who attended school.

Together with the earlier discussion of the concern of the officials for the young men in prison for apparently more serious criminal conduct than older men, the fact that the younger men were also on Day Parole slightly longer testifies to the greater risk taken on their behalf by the officials. This risk, in terms of potential public reaction to serious offenders in their midst plus the notorious impulsiveness and mischievousness of youth, also testifies to the hope and faith placed upon the young men on Day Parole by their custodians.

Day Parole Length and Race

Table 4.21 presents the data concerning matters of the length of Day Parole and the racial origin of the Day Parolees.

Table 4.21 shows that White Day Parolees have an increasing proportion in the longer periods of Day Parole. Native Day Parolees are shown to have a decreasing

TABLE 4.21

THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE AND THE RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Length of Day Parole	Race		
	White	Native	
Up to 1 Month	243 (31.2%)	109 (38.7%)	352
1 Up to 2 Months	284 (36.5%)	104 (36.9%)	388
2 Up to 4 Months	210 (27.0%)	63 (22.3%)	273
4 Months and Over	42 (5.4%)	6 (2.1%)	48
TOTAL	779 (100.1%)	282 (100.0%)	1061

Phi = .08

proportion within the longer periods of Day Parole. This indicates that White Day Parolees tended to be on Day Parole longer than Native Day Parolees. This finding may be due to a selection bias in favor of White Day Parolees. It may also be due, at least in part, to the previously noted finding that Native Day Parolees tended to serve slightly shorter sentences than White Day Parolees. As a result, Native Day Parolees would have less opportunity to be on Day Parole for longer periods of time. There is a weak association between Day Parole length and race, with White Day Parolees having the advantage of longer Day Parole than Native Day Parolees. This fact is not altered by conditions of sentence length or use of Day Parole. Conditions of age and the year of participation did effect this trend. Only younger Day Parolees had the advantage and only those men released during the period 1969-72.

Day Parole Length Over Time

It is possible to examine the length of Day Parole over time. Table 4.22 presents the data.

Table 4.22 shows considerable variation in the proportions of the length of Day Parole each year. There is a trend toward a smaller proportion of Day Paroles up to one month and a larger proportion of Day Paroles two to four months. The noticable drop in the proportion of Day Paroles four months or more seems to reflect the operational policy of the National Parole Board not to grant Day Parole for comparatively long periods of time. On the other hand, the mean percentage for periods of Day Parole up to two months during 1969-71 is 74.8 per cent whereas the mean percentage for the same length of Day Parole from 1972-74 is 68.2 per cent. This would seem to indicate a slight trend toward the use of longer periods of Day Parole, particularly periods of intermediate length (2 - 4 months). This is to be expected because the sentence length of the men on Day Parole also increased over time. The trend to longer periods of Day Parole is a weak association and it is not changed by sentence length. This trend is more pronounced for older men, for Native Day Parolees and for those who worked.

TABLE 4.22

THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE OVER TIME

Length of Day Parole	YEAR						
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
Up to 1 Month	29 (35.8%)	82 (31.7%)	104 (45.4%)	81 (34.3%)	68 (31.9%)	68 (24.6%)	432
1 Up to 2 Months	32 (39.5%)	98 (37.8%)	78 (34.1%)	93 (39.4%)	65 (30.5%)	121 (43.8%)	487
2 Up to 4 Months	17 (21.0%)	46 (17.8%)	33 (14.4%)	55 (23.3%)	76 (35.7%)	85 (30.8%)	312
4 Months and Over	3 (3.7%)	33 (12.7%)	14 (6.1%)	7 (3.0%)	4 (1.9%)	2 (0.7%)	63
TOTAL	81	259	229	236	213	276	1294

Phi = .09

Use of Day Parole

By referring to the "Remarks" portion of the Day Parole Register, it is possible to determine what each Day Parolee did while on Day Parole. Wherever a sum of money was recorded as Earnings, it was assumed that the Day Parolee had worked. The Register usually specified the educational facility or other community-based activity attended. In cases where it was not indicated what the inmate did, reference was made to his file to determine how he used his Day Parole. Table 4.23 outlines the variety of activities for which Day Parole was used.

Table 4.23 indicates that by far the most frequent use of Day Parole was in connection with employment. That use alone accounts for 75.1 per cent of what the Day Parolees did while on Day Parole. When combined with other categories that involved employment and another activity such as attending school and alcohol therapy sessions, employment was involved in 78.2 per cent of the cases. Education alone accounted for 11.3 per cent of the Day Paroles and when this is combined with those who worked and continued their education while on Day Parole we see that education was involved in 14.2 per cent of the cases.

Alcohol Therapy classes were sponsored by the Alcohol Foundation in Edmonton on an out-patient basis during the early years of the Day Parole Program. Usually the Day Parole Certificate was issued on the condition of the inmate's participation in the sessions until his sentence expired.

Two Day Parolees were able to attend the Alcohol Therapy sessions and go out to a job for awhile as well.

TABLE 4.23

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE, 1969 - 1974

Use of Day Parole	f	%
Worked	972	75.1
Not Released	33	2.6
Did Not Work	70	5.4
Alcohol Therapy	27	2.1
Education	146	11.3
Work and Education	38	2.9
Work and Alcohol Therapy	2	0.2
Other	5	0.4
Not Known	1	0.1
TOTAL	1294	100.1

The category Other included hairdressing courses, Workers Compensation Therapy and training sessions for the mentally handicapped.

Those who were not released on Day Parole were inmates whose conduct within the Center was deemed by the officials not to be good enough to let them leave the Center. These would be the inmates considered to be troublemakers, yet their misconduct was not so seriously disrupting as to warrant their transfer back to The Fort. Those inmates who were classified as Did Not Work represented the men who were granted Day Parole but either did not want to work or could not find suitable employment. Some men were not very interested in working while others were not able to find a job to their liking. Some of the men had very little to offer an employer. Some Day Parolees would have been sick. Others would have had only a few days remaining in their sentence and could have concluded that looking for a job was not worthwhile, especially if they were not from Edmonton.

As Table 4.23 indicated, a total of 184 Day Parolees (14.2 per cent of all Day Parolees) were involved in some form of educational activity. The Day Parole Register specified the educational institution attended in the 146 cases where education was not combined with employment. Table 4.24 takes a look at these 146 Day Parolees.

TABLE 4.24

THE TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITY ATTENDED
BY THE DAY PAROLEES, 1969 - 1974

Type of Educational Facility	f	%
High School	85	58.2
Vocational Training Center	12	8.2
University	21	14.4
Technical Institute	22	15.1
Community College	6	4.1
TOTAL	146	100.0

Table 4.24 indicates that most inmates on a Day Parole for educational purposes were attending one of the high schools in Edmonton. Others took part in academic

upgrading at a Vocational Center. Some Day Parolees attended the University of Alberta, some a Technical Institute offering trades training, and a few a Community College.

In summary, 78 per cent of the Day Parole population used the opportunity to work at a job. Of the Day Parolees who took part in known community-based activities (N = 1190, with those Not Released, Did Not Work, and Not Known excluded), employment accounted for 85 per cent of the activity and education accounted for most of the remainder.

Use of Day Parole Over Time

In addition to examining how Day Parole was used alone, it is possible to examine this factor in terms of other conditions. Table 4.25 presents the use of Day Parole in the Program over time.

Table 4.25 shows considerable variation in the use of Day Parole over time. Employment has consistently ranked first in terms of use but the range has been from 58 per cent to 88 per cent. The use of Day Parole for the purpose of education has steadily declined over time. This indicates that Day Parole officials and inmates had a keen interest in using Day Parole for educational purposes as the program commenced. This interest, however, seems to have subsided in favor of employment in more recent years. 1970 was the year featuring the most diversified use of Day Parole. Since then, the Program has increasingly used Day Parole for employment purposes.

TABLE 4.25

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE OVER TIME

Activity	YEAR						
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
Work Only	57 (70.4%)	150 (57.9%)	157 (68.6%)	190 (80.5%)	175 (82.2%)	243 (88.0%)	972
Education Only	19 (23.5%)	43 (16.6%)	22 (9.6%)	30 (12.7%)	18 (8.5%)	14 (5.1%)	146
Not Released/ Did Not Work	5 (6.2%)	35 (13.5%)	29 (12.7%)	6 (2.5%)	14 (6.6%)	14 (5.1%)	103
All Others	0 (0.0%)	31 (12.0%)	21 (9.2%)	10 (4.2%)	6 (2.8%)	5 (1.8%)	73
TOTAL	81 (100.1%)	259 (100.0%)	229 (100.0%)	236 (99.9%)	213 (100.1%)	276 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .16

The association between use of Day Parole and year of participation, whereby Day Parole for educational purposes declined and Day Parole for employment purposes increased, is moderately weak. Conditions of age, race and sentence length do not change this fact. Day Parole length did influence the original relationship in that longer periods of Day Parole were increasingly used for employment purposes.

Use of Day Parole and Age

Table 4.26 presents the relationship between the use of Day Parole and the age of the Day Parolees.

TABLE 4.26

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE AND THE
AGE GROUPS OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Activity	AGE GROUP 16 - 24	 25 - 40	 40 and Over	
Work Only	604 (72.3%)	276 (80.0%)	92 (80.7%)	972
Education Only	132 (15.8%)	13 (3.8%)	1 (0.9%)	146
Not Released/ Did Not Work	55 (6.6%)	34 (9.9%)	14 (12.3%)	103
All Others	44 (5.3%)	22 (6.4%)	7 (6.1%)	73
TOTAL	835 (100.0%)	345 (100.1%)	114 (100.0%)	1294

Phi - .21

Table 4.26 shows that younger Day Parolees dominated each particular activity, especially education. One noteable exception, however, concerns those who were not released or did not work. In this category, the older Day Parolees (age 25 and over) made up 46.6 per cent, although in the general Day Parole population, the same age group includes only 35.5 per cent of the population. The older Day Parolees were nearly as likely as younger men not to be released due to misbehavior or not to find suitable employment.

The relationship between the use of Day Parole and age, whereby those who worked tended to be older and students tended to be younger, is moderately weak. Conditions of sentence length and the length of Day Parole do not change this fact. The older worker-younger student feature was more pronounced in the earlier years of the program. This feature was not as pronounced for Native Day Parolees.

The Use of Day Parole and Race

The relationship between race and the use of Day Parole is presented in Table 4.27.

Table 4.27 indicates that Native Day Parolees were more likely to work than White Day Parolees. White Day Parolees were more likely to attend school than Native Day Parolees. White Day Parolees were more likely not to be released or find suitable employment than Native Day Parolees. Native Day Parolees were more likely to be involved in other activities. An examination of the ungrouped data shows Native Day Parolees made up sixty-one per cent of those who attended the Alcohol Therapy sessions.

The relationship between the use of Day Parole and race, whereby Native Day Parolees are more likely to work and students are more likely to be White Day Parolees, is weak.. This fact is not changed by the year of participation. The relationship only holds true for younger Day Parolees, those serving short sentences and those on Day Parole for a short period of time.

TABLE 4.27

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE AND THE KNOWN
RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Activity	RACE		
	White	Native	
Work Only	598 (76.8%)	228 (80.9%)	826
Education Only	85 (10.9%)	16 (5.7%)	101
Not Released/ Did Not Work	64 (8.2%)	17 (6.1%)	81
All Others	32 (4.1%)	21 (7.4%)	53
TOTAL	779 (100.0%)	282 (100.1%)	1061*

*There were 233 cases where the racial origin was not known.

Phi = .08

Use of Day Parole and Length of Day Parole

Table 4.28 presents the relationship between the length of Day Parole and the use to which it was put.

Table 4.28 shows that within each category of the length of Day Parole, work was the dominant activity except for the longest Day Parole period. This indicates that with up to four months on Day Parole, the men usually worked. For those on Day Parole four months or more, less than half went to work. The bulk of the others attended school or took part in other activities, such as a combination of work and education. Using Day Parole for educational endeavors was most pronounced for those on Day Parole for two months or more. As noted previously, longer periods of Day Parole are associated with longer sentences. It seems, therefore, that inmates with fairly long sentences to serve and longer periods of Day Parole available to them have made considerable effort to use their Day Parole for educational purposes. It could be that Day Parole allowed the inmate to continue the schooling he had been receiving before going to prison. Also, inmates serving longer sentences had more opportunity to become involved in school at The Fort. The next step could be to go on Day Parole and continue in the community what had been started in strict custody. As well, it could be that the inmate had planned to go on Day Parole and attend school in the hopes of increasing his chances of being placed on full parole. As will be seen later, the combination of Day Parole preceding Full Parole was involved in at least 26 per cent of the Day Parole population. This plan would be particularly appealing to those serving longer sentences where it was worthwhile (in the sense of getting out of gaol as soon as possible) to apply for Day Parole and Full Parole. The earlier observations that younger Day Parolees were generally on Day Parole somewhat longer than older Day Parolees (Table 4.20) and that younger Day Parolees made up most of those who used Day Parole for educational purposes (Table 4.26) help to explain further the importance of educational activities during the longer periods of Day Parole.

TABLE 4.28

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE AND THE
LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE

Activity	LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE Up to 1 Month	 1 Up to 2 Months	 2 Up to 4 Months	 4 Months and Over	
Not Released/ Did Not Work	62 (14.4%)	30 (6.2%)	9 (2.9%)	2 (3.2%)	103
Work Only	312 (72.2%)	403 (82.8%)	228 (73.1%)	29 (46.0%)	972
Education Only	34 (7.9%)	38 (7.8%)	55 (17.6%)	19 (30.2%)	146
All Others	24 (5.6%)	16 (3.3%)	20 (6.4%)	13 (20.6%)	73
TOTAL	432 (100.1%)	487 (100.1%)	312 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .25

Table 4.28 also shows the bulk of those who were not released or who could not locate suitable employment had less than one month to be on Day Parole. Nearly all inmates on Day Parole for one month or more were released to suitable activities in the community.

This again indicates the importance of the time factor in the Day Parole experience. With not much time to go before release, the likelihood of getting out and finding work is diminished. It could be that the inmates did not consider a short period of work to be really worthwhile, especially if they were just going to quit the job once their sentence was over. It also could be that the tension, excitement and jitteriness associated with the phenonenom of "getting short" (sentence nearing its end) has the effect on Day Parolees of increasing the incidents of misbehavior and/or reducing the attractiveness of getting out of prison and working for awhile. This part of the Study was unable to explore these possibilities more systematically.

The association between the use of Day Parole and the length of Day Parole, where education was most prominent during longer periods of Day Parole, is moderately weak. Similarly, those who worked on Day Parole tended to be on shorter periods of Day Parole. This association was strengthened for Native Day Parolees and for those on Day Parole in the earlier years of the Program. The association was less potent for older Day Parolees. Sentence length did not influence the relationship.

Use of Day Parole and Sentence Length

The relationship between the use of Day Parole and sentence length is presented in Table 4.29.

Table 4.29 shows that those who worked on Day Parole tended to be serving shorter sentences and those who went to school tended to be serving longer sentences. This association between the use of Day Parole and sentence length is insignificant. Conditions of the year of participation and age did not change this fact. The relationship was only true for Native Day Parolees and it was stronger for those on shorter periods of Day Parole.

TABLE 4.29

THE USE OF DAY PAROLE AND THE
LENGTH OF SENTENCE OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Activity	SENTENCE LENGTH Up to 1 Year	 1 Year and Over
Work	575 (85.2%)	397 (82.5%)
Education	100 (14.8%)	84 (17.5%)
TOTAL	675 (100.0%)	481 (100.0%)

Phi - .04

Termination of Day Parole

Once Day Parole was granted, it remained in effect until the Certificate expired or until an event occurred that caused the period of Day Parole to be officially suspended or terminated. Termination could occur as a result of a Day Parolee's conduct in the Center as well as in the community, either on Day Parole or on passes such as for the weekend. The Day Parole Register stated the final disposition of the period of Day Parole. Table 4.30 presents these dispositions.

Table 4.30 indicates that a total of 1151 inmates successfully completed their Day Parole without violation. This represents 88.9 per cent of the total. There were 143 official violations, representing 11.1 per cent of the total population. Most inmates (61.7 per cent) completed their period of Day Parole satisfactorily and were discharged from the Center. Four inmates were discharged because they paid the balance outstanding on a fine and were no longer required to serve a term of imprisonment in default of payment of a fine. A total of 339 inmates were discharged from the Center on full parole. This indicates a sizeable proportion of the Day Parole Program (26.2 per cent of the men on Day Parole) was used as a fore-runner to release on full parole. It indicates considerable use of Day Parole as a testing ground or a trial period of partial community-based activity before complete return to the community[9].

TABLE 4.30

THE TERMINATION OF THE DAY PAROLE
POPULATION, 1969 - 1974

Type of Termination	f	%
Sentence satisfied	798	61.7
Fine Paid	4	0.3
Full Parole	339	26.2
Transfer: Day Parole to Continue	2	0.2
Appeal Court Release	2	0.2
Charges Pending	2	0.2
Inmate Request Removal	3	0.2
Transfer for Psychiatric Treatment	1	0.1
Violation	143	11.1
TOTAL	1294	100.2

A small number of the inmates deemed to have successfully completed Day Parole were transferred to other correctional facilities to continue their Day Parole, were released by order of the Alberta Court of Appeal, and transferred to a medical facility for psychiatric treatment. Three inmates requested to be removed from the program[10]. Two inmates were removed from the program because they had outstanding charges before the Courts and as a result they were considered by the Center's authorities to be security risks.

As noted previously, official sanctions for violations were taken against 143 inmates, representing 11.1 per cent of the Day Parole population. In most cases, when an inmate was found guilty by the Center's disciplinary committee for an infraction of the terms and conditions of Day Parole, he was returned to The Fort. Only rarely did an inmate remain at the Center after a serious violation had occurred. The offender was frequently penalized further through the loss of several days of his earned remission ("good time").

Violations

The nature of these violations is outlined in Table 4.31. To gather this information the author reviewed each offender's file, noting the reason for the violation.

Table 4.31 indicates that drinking alcohol was the main reason for violations of Day Parole. A total of 22 Day Parolees failed to return to the Center when required and were subsequently charged under the Criminal Code of Canada with being Unlawfully at Large. Officials at the Center usually allowed an inmate several hours grace to get back to the Center before calling the Police and laying charges.

TABLE 4.31

THE NATURE OF THE VIOLATIONS OF THE
DAY PAROLE POPULATION, 1969 - 1974

Nature of Violation	f	%
Drinking Alcohol	32	22.4
Unlawfully at Large	22	15.4
Failing to go to Work	15	10.5
Return Late	14	9.8
Failing to Attend Classes	10	7.0
Temporarily Leave Job Without Permission	9	6.3
Commit Other Offences	9	6.3
Possession of Drugs at Center	7	4.9
Escape Lawful Custody	5	3.5
Possession of Contraband at Center	4	2.8
Quit Job Without Permission	4	2.8
Poor Conduct and Attitude at Center	3	2.1
Failing to Declare Day Parole Earnings	2	1.4
Driving Without Permission	1	0.7
Making Illegal Visits	1	0.7
Leaving Center Without Permission	1	0.7
Refusing to Pay Room and Board	1	0.7
Returning under Influence of Drugs	3	2.1
TOTAL	143	100.1

A number of Day Parolees left the Center to go to work but failed to show up. Periodic checks by the Center's personnel with the inmate's employer would have revealed this violation. Also, some employers, particularly those providing "Joint Jobs", would call the Center when a Day Parolee failed to appear as expected.

Several inmates returned to the Center much later than required and as a result faced internal disciplinary measures. Although late, these men were not so late that the Center's authorities felt it necessary to call the Police and lay Criminal charges.

A number of inmates skipped classes or quit their jobs without the consent of Program officials. As a result, they faced the disciplinary committee for violating this term of their Day Parole Contract.

Nine Day Parolees were known to have committed other offences while on Day Parole. This represents 6.3 per cent of those considered as violations and they represent 0.7 per cent of the Day Parole population.

As Table 4.31 shows, there were other incidents of a less frequent nature that led to the termination of the period of Day Parole. The most serious of these is Escape Lawful Custody whereby five men escaped from the Center, usually at night. Police would have been notified and charges laid pursuant to the Criminal Code of Canada.

One aspect of the success/failure issue that has not received much attention from previous researchers concerns a detailed look at the violations of Day Parole. As noted earlier, there were one hundred and forty-three violations in this Study, representing 11.1 per cent of the Day Parole population. In order to examine the violations more closely, particular attention was paid to these 143 cases.

Each of the files was examined by the author, noting the nature of the violation, the length of Day Parole and the date of occurrance of the violation. In order to determine when these violations occurred relative to the total Day Parole period, the length of Day Parole was divided into quarters. The violation date was placed in the appropriate quarter. The results of this procedure is presented in Table 4.32.

TABLE 4.32

THE OCCURRANCE OF VIOLATIONS DURING
THE DAY PAROLE PERIOD, EXPRESSED IN QUARTERS

Quarter of Violation	f	%	F
First	66	46.2	46.2
Second	41	28.7	74.9
Third	22	15.4	90.3
Fourth	14	9.8	100.1
TOTAL	143	100.1	

Table 4.32 indicates that nearly one-half of the violations occurred in the first quarter of the period of Day Parole. In fact, three-quarters of the violations take place within the first half of the Day Parole experience. These findings indicate that men on Day Parole are most vulnerable to "goofing up" when they first go on Day Parole. As Table

shows, the longer a man stays on Day Parole, the less likely he is to violate its conditions. The first quarter is by far the most important part of the Day Parole experience in terms of violations[11].

Success Rate

A success rate based not on all possible cases but only on those who were actually released into the community would be more accurate. Using the number of violations (N=143) and the number of Day Parolees excluding those who were not released (N=33, see Table 4.23), a success rate of 88.7 per cent is calculated. If those Day Parolees who did not work (N=70, see Table 4.23) are excluded due to their extremely limited contact with the free community, a success rate of 88 per cent is calculated.

The previously noted success rates can be considered somewhat high. In all likelihood, there were more than 143 violations during the six year history of the Program examined in this Study. It can be fairly assumed that some Day Parolees behaved in such a way as to fall within some of the categories listed as violations in Table 4.31 yet their conduct would not have been detected. The violations of Day Parole examined in this Study may be like the official sanctions imposed by the larger society - the tip of the iceberg in terms of all deviant behavior.

In addition to the overall success/failure rate of the Program, it was also possible to examine the matter of termination within specific conditions.

Violations Over Time

Table 4.33 illustrates the annual rate of violations for the Day Parole Population.

TABLE 4.33

THE FREQUENCY OF DAY PAROLES GRANTED AND VIOLATED OVER TIME

Year	Day Paroles Granted	Violations	Violation Rate
1969	81	4	4.9%
1970	259	37	14.3%
1971	229	28	12.2%
1972	236	21	8.9%
1973	213	16	7.5%
1974	276	37	13.4%
TOTAL	1294	143	11.1%

Phi = .01

Table 4.33 indicates a fluctuating violation rate ranging from 4.9 per cent to 14.3 per cent. The relationship between termination and the year of participation, whereby violations of Day Parole decreased over time, is insignificant. Factors such as age, race, sentence length, Day Parole length and the use of Day Parole did not change this fact.

There could be other factors related to the annual violation such as selection practices, surveillance practices by the Center's staff, different standards of conduct on the part of the Day Parolees themselves, and changes in key personnel at the Center. It is beyond the scope of this Study to further explore this variation.

Termination and Age

The relationship between success/failure and age is presented in Table 4.34.

TABLE 4.34

THE TERMINATION OF DAY PAROLE AND THE AGE GROUPS OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Termination	AGE GROUPS 16 - 24	 25 - 39	 40 and Over	
Success	747 (89.5%)	305 (88.4%)	99 (86.8%)	1151
Violation	88 (10.5%)	40 (11.6%)	15 (13.2%)	143
TOTAL	835 (100.0%)	345 (100.0%)	114 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .02

Table 4.34 shows an increasing proportion of violations as the age categories represent older men. This indicates that older men on Day Parole are somewhat more likely to "goof up" Day Parole than younger Day Parolees. Similarly, the younger the Day Parolee, the more likelihood of him successfully completing a period of Day Parole. The relationship between termination and age, whereby older men were more likely to violate than younger men, is insignificant. This association remains unchanged under conditions of race, length of Day Parole and year of release on Day Parole. The association is strengthened for those serving shorter sentences and for those who used Day Parole for educational purposes.

Even though the association between termination and age is so weak as to be statistically insignificant, it is still rather surprising. One would expect the younger Day Parolees to be more inclined to get into trouble. Young people in general often have a reputation for misbehavior and anti-social conduct that leads them into more frequent contact with society's agents of control than society's older members. Yet, in this population, the findings indicate the opposite situation to exist. In this Day Parole population, it is the older members who are slightly more likely to get into trouble. In comparison, it is the younger Day Parolees who are less likely to get into trouble once they are involved in a community-based activity. Similarly, as noted in Table 4.26, the older men were nearly as likely as the younger ones not to be released or find suitable employment. In terms of taking part in a community-based activity and completing Day Parole successfully, older Day Parolees are at a disadvantage.

There appears to be something operating against the older Day Parolees. Perhaps there exists a surveillance bias whereby the staff at the Center monitor the behavior of older Day Parolees more closely than the younger men. Perhaps the staff give more "breaks" or "benefit of the doubt" to younger Day Parolees. Perhaps Day Parole does not mean as much to older Day Parolees as younger ones and therefore the older men offer less resistance to the temptations in the community that would get them into trouble.

These areas are beyond the scope of this Study.

Termination and Race

This Study examined the relationship between race and success/failure. The results are presented in Table 4.35.

TABLE 4.35

THE TERMINATION OF DAY PAROLE AND THE KNOWN RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Termination	KNOWN RACIAL ORIGIN		
	Native	White	
Success	244 (86.5%)	674 (86.5%)	918
Violation	38 (13.5%)	105 (13.5%)	143
TOTAL	282 (100.0%)	779 (100.0%)	1061

Phi = 0.0

Table 4.35 shows identical proportions of violations of Day Parole for both Native and White Day Parolees. This indicates that race alone has no bearing on the success or failure of a period of Day Parole. Factors such as age and the year of participation do not generally disrupt this lack of association. Sentence length interacts with race in relation to a successful completion to slightly favor Native Day Parolees serving long sentences over their White counterparts. This same interaction also slightly favors White Day Parolees serving shorter sentences over their Native counterparts. Activity interacts with race to noticeably influence termination in favor of White Day Parolees attending school over their Native counterparts. This same interaction slightly favors Native Day Parolees who worked over their White counterparts. White Day Parolees serving shorter terms of Day Parole were slightly more likely to successfully complete than Native Day Parolees. This feature all but disappeared for men serving longer periods of Day Parole.

Termination and Sentence Length

It is possible to examine factors such as length of the sentence of the Day Parolee and the success/failure issue. These results are presented in Table 4.36.

TABLE 4.36

THE TERMINATION OF DAY PAROLE AND THE LENGTH OF SENTENCE OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Termination	LENGTH OF SENTENCE					
	1 - 5 Months	6 - 11 Months	12 - 17 Months	18 - 24 Months	24 Months And Over	
Success	200 (94.8%)	508 (89.6%)	271 (86.0%)	155 (87.6%)	17 (70.8%)	1151
Violation	11 (5.2%)	59 (10.4%)	44 (14.0%)	22 (12.4%)	7 (29.2%)	143
TOTAL	211 (100.0%)	567 (100.0%)	315 (100.0%)	117 (100.0%)	24 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .08

Table 4.36 shows a generally declining proportion of successfully completed cases for increasing lengths of sentence. The Short term sentences (1 - 5 months) have a success rate of 94.8 per cent, the Medium Length sentences (6 - 17 months) have a success rate of 88.3 per cent and the Long Term sentences (18 months and over) have a success rate of 85.6 per cent. This indicates that the longer the sentence to be served by the inmate, the more chance there is he will "goof up" on Day Parole. This is particularly true for the twenty-four men who had been imprisoned for more than two years. Nearly one-third of them violated their Day Parole. This finding seems to indicate that the longer a man is likely to be "behind bars", the less chance of him successfully completing Day Parole. The relationship, however, is weak.

If the length of sentence is a measure of the seriousness of the offence and a measure of the "criminality" of an offender (i.e. the longer sentences represent more serious offences committed by the more hardened criminals), Table 4.36 indicates that the more serious cases run the greatest risk of violating. This is understandable, given the presumed serious antisocial conduct and attitudes of these offenders. The "more serious" the case, the less chance of successfully completing Day Parole. This finding points out one of the contradictions of Day Parole. It is often heralded as an appealing way to re-integrate long term offenders into the community. On the other hand, the chances of these offenders completing Day Parole is the least of all these Day Parolees. Those who may need it the most may not be around long enough to benefit from it.

The weak association where those serving shorter sentences have a higher success rate is not influenced by conditions of activity or year. Under conditions of race, age and Day Parole length, interaction occurs with sentence length in relation to termination. In these conditions, younger Day Parolees, White Day Parolees, and those on longer Day Parole are more likely to complete Day Parole without incident.

Termination and Length of Day Parole

The relationship between success/failure and the length of Day Parole is examined, with the results presented in Table 4.37.

TABLE 4.37

THE TERMINATION OF DAY PAROLE AND THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE

Termination	LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE Up to 1 Month	 1 Up to 2 Months	 2 Up to 4 Months	 4 Months And Over	
Success	410 (94.9%)	441 (90.6%)	258 (82.7%)	42 (66.7%)	1151
Violation	22 (5.1%)	46 (9.4%)	54 (17.3%)	21 (33.3%)	143
TOTAL	432 (100.0%)	487 (100.0%)	312 (100.0%)	63 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .18

Table 4.37 shows the proportion of successful completions of Day Parole to vary inversely with the length of the Day Parole period. The longer the period of Day Parole, the more likely a violation will occur. The association between the length of Day Parole and termination is moderately weak. This finding confirms the wide-spread belief among Program personnel that long periods of Day Parole are associated with high rates of violation. It is believed that a long Day Parole is a hard way "to do time" - there are too many temptations for too long a period of time and trouble lies just around the corner. As seen above, for those on Day Parole for four months or more, one-third violated.

The moderately weak association where short Day Paroles are more likely to succeed than long Day Paroles is not influenced by conditions of race, age, year or activity. Not surprisingly, the sentence length does influence the relationship. It strengthens the relationship for those serving long sentences and weakens the relationship for those serving short sentences.

Termination and Activity

It is also possible to look at the success/failure issue within the category of the activities on Day Parole. The findings are presented in Table 4.38.

Table 4.38 shows the categories Work Only and Education Only to have the highest success rates followed by All Others and lastly Not Released/Did Not Work. This indicates that the men who worked or attended an educational facility had a better success rate than those who combined these duties or took part in other activities. Not surprisingly, those who were not released or who did not work showed the highest violation rate. It is these men who misbehaved in the Center or were unable to find suitable employment. It appears this group lived up to their advanced billings as being the least acceptable for release into the community even though Day Parole had been granted. They achieved the highest violation rate. These violations would have occurred mainly in the Center since these men would most likely have been denied participation in most other community-based activities, such as weekend or evening passes.

TABLE 4.38

THE TERMINATION OF DAY PAROLE AND THE USE OF DAY PAROLE

Termination	ACTIVITY ON DAY PAROLE				
	Work Only	Education Only	Not Released Did Not Work	All Others	
Success	881 (90.6%)	130 (89.0%)	78 (75.7%)	62 (84.9%)	1151
Violation	91 (9.4%)	16 (11.0%)	25 (24.3%)	11 (15.1%)	143
TOTAL	972 (100.0%)	146 (100.0%)	103 (100.0%)	73 (100.0%)	1294

Phi = .01

The relationship between termination and activity is insignificant. It remains basically unchanged under conditions of sentence length, year of participation, and length of Day Parole. The relationship is strengthened for older Day Parolees and for Native Day Parolees as well.

Earnings

As we saw in Table 4.23, 78 per cent of the Day Parole population worked at some time on Day Parole. By referring to the "Remarks" portion of the Day Parole Register, it was possible in all but 40 cases to note the amount of money each man earned and brought back to the Center. When this figure was not recorded on the Register, reference was made to the Earnings Form contained on each file. This sum does not represent the entire amount earned by a man while on Day Parole. It only represents the earnings processed through the Center's books. Many men could have worked several days since their last paycheque and could have then been released from the Center in between pay periods. The pay they were entitled to receive between their last cheque and their date of release would not be recorded on the Center's files. Nevertheless, the recorded amounts do represent the best estimate of the earnings of the men on Day Parole. These earnings are summarized in Table 4.39.

Table 4.39 indicates that just over one-half of the men on Day Parole earned less than $300.00. The ungrouped data for the known earnings has a range of $6.00 to $5,000.00[12], a mean of $402.00, a mode of $100.00 and a median of $274.00. The median would seem to be the best measure of central tendency, given the influence of the extreme range.

TABLE 4.39

THE APPROXIMATE KNOWN EARNINGS OF THE DAY PAROLE POPULATION, 1969 - 1974

Earnings	f	%	F
$ 1 - 99	162	16.7	16.7
$100 - 199	215	22.1	38.8
$200 - 299	140	14.4	53.2
$300 - 399	103	10.6	63.9
$400 - 499	87	9.0	72.8
$500 - 999	184	18.9	91.8
$1000 - 1999	70	7.2	99.0
$2000 and Over	10	1.0	100.0
TOTAL*	971	100.0	

*The 323 cases missing from the Day Parole Population include those where employment was not involved or where the amount of earnings was not known (N=40).

Earnings and Age

It is possible to examine the earnings of the Day Parolees under selected conditions. Table 4.40 presents the earnings by age groupings.

Table 4.40 shows the younger Day Parolees to have a higher proportion than the older Day Parolees in the higher income bracket. It also shows the older Day Parolees to have a higher proportion than the younger Day Parolees in the smaller income bracket. This indicates that the younger Day Parolees tend to earn slightly more money than the older Day Parolees although the relationship between age and earnings is insignificant. As noted in Table 4.20, the younger Day Parolees were on Day Parole slightly longer than the older Day

Parolees and therefore had more opportunity to earn more money. This could explain why the younger Day Parolees earned more money, although it could be too that the older Day Parolees actually obtained lower paying jobs.

TABLE 4.40

THE EARNINGS AND AGE GROUPS OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Known Earnings in $	AGE GROUP 16 - 24	 25 - 40	 40 and Over	
1 - 500	437 (71.8%)	200 (72.7%)	70 (80.5%)	707
500 and Over	172 (28.2%)	75 (27.3%)	17 (19.5%)	264
TOTAL	609 (100.0%)	275 (100.0%)	87 (100.0%)	971

Phi = .03

The relationship between earnings and age, whereby younger Day Parolees tended to earn slightly more money than older Day Parolees, is insignificant, and it is not noticeably influenced by factors such as the length of Day Parole, the race of the Day Parolees or when they were on Day Parole. It very well could be, then, that the older Day Parolees are more likely to obtain lower paying jobs than younger Day Parolees. It could also be that older Day Parolees spent less time working because of lay-offs, illness or dismissal. These possible explanations could not be further explored in this Study.

Earnings Over Time

Table 4.41 presents the earnings of the Day Parolees over time.

Table 4.41 shows a fairly stable pattern of earnings from 1969 to 1972 with about 80% of the Day Parolees earning less than $500.00. In 1973 and 1974 however, a noticeable change occurred in that a much larger proportion of the Day Parolees were earning $500.00 or more than in previous years. The association is moderately weak. As noted previously, there was some indication that the length of Day Parole had increased over time. This could explain in part the changes found in Table 4.41 .

The increase in earnings since 1973 was not influenced very much by factors such as the length of Day Parole or the age of the Day Parolees. The relationship between earnings and year was noticeably strengthened for Native Day Parolees. This indicates that since 1973, Native Day Parolees fared better in terms of earnings than Native Day Parolees before 1973. These findings indicate that the men in general but particularly Native Day Parolees saw increased earnings since 1973. It is possible, too, that the Day Parolees had been obtaining better paying jobs since 1973. As will be seen later in this Chapter, the diversity of jobs has increased since 1973, allowing the men on Day Parole a chance to obtain potentially better paying jobs. In addition, changes in the labor laws concerning increased minimum wages would contribute to the increase in the earnings of the Day Parolees.

TABLE 4.41

THE EARNINGS OF THE MEN ON DAY PAROLE OVER TIME

Earnings in $	YEAR						
	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	
1 - 499	44 (81.5%)	118 (80.3%)	127 (80.4%)	167 (84.3%)	111 (63.8%)	140 (58.3%)	707
500 and Over	10 (18.5%)	29 (19.7%)	31 (19.6%)	31 (15.7%)	63 (36.2%)	100 (41.7%)	264
TOTAL	54 (100.0%)	147 (100.0%)	158 (100.0%)	198 (100.0%)	174 (100.0%)	240 (100.0%)	971

Phi = .24

Earnings and Race

Table 4.42 presents the earnings of the men on Day Parole by racial origins.

TABLE 4.42

THE EARNINGS AND THE KNOWN RACIAL ORIGIN
OF THE DAY PAROLEES

Earnings in $	RACE White	 Native	
1 - 500	407 (68.5%)	184 (80.0%)	591
500 and Over	187 (31.5%)	46 (20.0%)	233
TOTAL	594 (100.0%)	230 (100.0%)	824

Phi = .11

Table 4.42 shows a higher proportion of Native Day Parolees in the lower earning category and a higher proportion of White Day Parolees in the higher earning category. This indicates that White Day Parolees generally earned more money than their fellow Day Parolees of Native ancestry. The relationship between race and earnings is weak. Part of this could be explained by the fact that Native Day Parolees had shorter periods of Day Parole.

When controlling for the length of Day Parole, the strength of the relationship between earnings and race remains the same under conditions of short Day Parole. Under conditions of longer Day Parole, however, the strength is reduced. Native Day Parolees, then, do earn somewhat less money than White Day Parolees when on Day Parole for up to two months. For lengths of Day Parole of two months or more, however, White and Native Day Parolees earn very close to the same amount. The original disparity in terms of earnings and race, which was in favor of White Day Parolees, was particularly true during the years 1969-72. Since 1973, however, this disparity has all but disappeared. Since 1973, Native Day Parolees have been earning virtually the same amount of money as White Day Parolees.

There are a number of possible explanations for the less favorable position of Native Day Parolees prior to 1973, and those on Day Parole for less than two months. It could be that the jobs obtained by Native Day Parolees paid less than the jobs obtained by White Day Parolees. It also could be that Native Day Parolees put in fewer days work during the period of Day Parole due to illness or lay-offs. These possibilities could not be further explored in this Study.

Earnings and Day Parole Length

Table 4.43 describes the earnings of the men on Day Parole in terms of the length of the Day Parole period.

Table 4.43 shows that the proportion of higher earnings varies directly with the length of Day Parole. The longer a man is on Day Parole, the more money he likely will earn. This is not surprising since he would have more opportunity to do so. The strength of the relationship between earnings and length of Day Parole is moderate. The relationship between earnings and the length of Day Parole, where the amount of earnings varies directly with the length of Day Parole, is not influenced to any large extent by factors such as race, year or age.

TABLE 4.43

THE DAY PAROLEES' EARNINGS AND THE LENGTH OF DAY PAROLE

Earnings	Up To 2 Months	2 Months and Over	
Up to $500	593 (85.6%)	114 (41.0%)	707
500 and Over	100 (14.4%)	164 (59.0%)	264
TOTAL	693 (100.0%)	278 (100.0%)	971

Phi = .45

Room and Board

In March, 1973, amendments were made to the Correctional Institutions Regulations[13] requiring each inmate on Day Parole or temporary absence for the purpose of employment to pay for their meals and lodging at a rate of $20.00 per five day work week or $4.00 per diem for each work day less than five days. The Bursar's office makes the deductions each week from the inmate's account. Day Parolees or those on temporary absence for the purpose of education do not pay room and board. At the end of the month, the Center's Director forwards the month's room and board deductions to a Provincial Revenue Trust Fund.

8

Since March 1973, when room and board deductions became law, Day Parolees at the Center have paid a total of $43,048.00 from April, 1973 to December, 1974. This sum represents an average monthly room and board payment of $2,050.00.

From this figure a number of calculations can be made that serve to add to our knowledge of the Program. The mean monthly room and board payment divided by the per diem rate for room and board equals the approximate number of man days worked during this period. This formula computes as follows:

$\frac{\$2050}{\$4}$ = 512.5 = 513 man days worked per month, on the average.

Assuming there are 22 working days per month, we find there are, on the average,

$\frac{513}{22}$ = 23.3 = 23 men

out working on Day Parole any given day.

This average daily picture of Day Parole at the Center is, however, subject to a myriad of fluctuations in record keeping, selection procedures, the employment market, the inmate's health, and his desire to work. A look at the Center's own Day Parole Statistical Reports provides an overview.

As Table 4.44 indicates, the average Day Parole Population at the start of the fiscal year is 37.5 men. The Day Parole Population ranged from 54 per cent to 61 per cent of the total inmate admissions. It would seem, therefore, that up to 61 per cent of the inmates transferred to the

Center eventually were placed on Day Parole, even though only about one-quarter of the men at the Center would be out working on an average day.

TABLE 4.44

THE DAY PAROLE POPULATION, DAY PAROLES GRANTED AND INMATES ADMITTED OVER TIME

Item	FISCAL YEAR			
	1971-72	1972-73	1973-74	1974-75
Day Parole Population April 1	40	28	36	46
Day Paroles Granted During Year	218	223	240	264
Inmates Admitted During Year	405	365	433	438
Day Parole as Per Cent of Admissions	53.8%	61.1%	55.4%	60.3%

Source: Day Parole Statistical Report, Fiscal Years Ending 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975.

Types of Jobs

In the six years of operation examined in this Study, there was a wide range in the types of jobs held by the men on Day Parole. The Center kept a list of the types of work performed or the name of the employer for whom the inmate worked for the fiscal years 1971 - 1972 and 1972 - 1973[14]. This practice was discontinued in subsequent years.

In an effort to provide additional data regarding the types of jobs held by Day Parolees, the author examined the Day Parole Nominal Roll at the Center. This document records the name, employer, dates of work and the time left from and returned to the Center. A filing card system was developed whereby the name of each employer listed on the Nominal Roll was recorded on a separate card. On this card was recorded the name(s) of Day Parolee(s) who worked for each firm at sometime during the fiscal year 1974-75. A number of Day Parolees worked for more than one employer during the time they were on Day Parole so the actual number of inmate-jobs exceeds the number of men who used their Day Parole Certificate for the purpose of employment.

The name of the employer was located in the Yellow Pages of the Edmonton Telephone Book (1975) and classified accordingly. A total of 18 firms could not be located in the Telephone Book, however, 16 of these businesses could be classified quite accurately by relying on their name (example: ------ Valley Construction was categorized as Construction).

Table 4.45 presents the type of jobs held by the Day Parolees during three fiscal years. The scheme of classification is at best a rough one. The Center's own classification wa[illegible]ination of duties performed plus employer while the [illegible]'s classification was by type of business conducted by the employer. Nevertheless the following table does serve to illustrate the kinds of work performed by Day Parolees.

TABLE 4.45

THE TYPES OF JOBS PERFORMED BY THE DAY PAROLEES DURING THREE FISCAL YEARS

Type of Job	1971-72	1972-73	1974-75
Automotive Industry - auto body/mechanic/service station/driver/truck bodies/auto parts/auto glass/batteries/auto wrecking/auto dealer-new/trucking/oil field hauling.	22 13.3%	19 10.2%	20 6.6%
Food Industry - poultry processing/restaurant/cook/brewery/packing plant/hotel/caterer.	23 13.9%	18 9.7%	37 12.1%
Construction - Contractors-road, general, insulation, building, brick, mechanical, pipeline, equipment/ditching services/laborer/sod farm/landscaping/movers/tree farm/garbage collection/scrap metal/lawn sprinklers/cemetry/packing material/paper salvage.	76 46.1%	77 41.4%	99 32.5%
Manufacturing - industrial machinery/steel fabricators/steel products/aluminum products/electrical equipment/foundry/fire alarms/tool maker/machine shop/refinery/oilfield equipment/pre-fab buildings/metal windows.	12 7.3%	40 21.5%	80 26.2%
Sales and Service - salesmen/building supplies/retail carpet/overhead door/inspection/florist/janitor/office worker/barber/refrigeration equipment/veterinary equipment/retail furniture/upholstering/office furniture.	14 8.5%	15 8.1%	33 10.8%
Tradesmen - welding/carpet laying/roofing/painter/concrete/carpentry/plumbing/dry wall/sheet metal.	17 10.3%	13 7.0%	23 7.5%
Other - post office/engineer/drafting/newspaper/hospital/own business/research assistant/recreation department/not known	1 0.6%	4 2.2%	13 4.3%
Total Inmate Jobs	165 100.0%	186 100.1%	305 100.0%

The most noticeable trend in Table 4.45 is the increasing employment of Day Parolees in the manufacturing industry and a decline in the reliance on the construction industry. This would seem to indicate the types of jobs were becoming somewhat more diversified and the men were holding down a wider variety of jobs. It shows, too, that a wider segment of the business community was prepared to hire men on Day Parole.

The level of required job skills of the Day Parolees ranged widely, from almost totally unskilled labor such as loading pallets of sod to the skills required of graduate research assistants at the University. By far the greatest majority of the Day Parolees performed jobs of an unskilled or semi-skilled level.

"Joint Jobs"

While some Day Parolees were able to locate their own jobs, others relied on the staff at the Center to find a job for them. By reviewing the data in Table 4.45 and classifying it either as a "Joint Job" or not, it is possible to determine the extent to which the officials and the Day Parolees relied on this method of finding work.

Table 4.46 indicates that the "Joint Jobs" have consistently accounted for 40 - 45 per cent of the jobs held by Day Parolees at the Center. This would seem to indicate that the Center and the Day Parolees themselves looked favorably on these jobs. The Center had found a pool of jobs in which to plaxe Day Parolees. The inmates found a pool of jobs on which they could rely to obtain employment either on direct referral by the Center or by taking over a position vacated by a discharged inmate. The high turnover rate of these jobs usually meant only a short waiting period before starting work. Also, the men were not "hasseled" about their record or their residence. They appreciated the anonimity accorded to them by the employers, who seemingly were more concerned about having the position filled rather than the "quality" of the worker. All in all, the "Joint Jobs" played an important and valued part in the Center's Day Parole Program.

TABLE 4.46

THE USE OF "JOINT JOBS" DURING SELECTED YEARS

Type of Job	1971-72	1972-73	1974-75
Joint Jobs - sod farm/paper salvage/poultry processing/ pre-fab buildings/cemetry/ tree farm/aluminum products janitor	69 (41.8%)	84 (45.2%)	138 (45.2%)
All Other Jobs	96	102	175
TOTAL	165	186	305

FOOTNOTES

1 Most of these items are self-explanatory. Day Parole expenses include a daily sum of $3.00 per man for lunch, cigarettes and bus tickets. A canteen was available at the Center to purchase candy bars and soft drinks. Personal expenses included items such as gifts, dental work, union dues and dry cleaning. Some inmates took money from their account when they went out on evening or weekend passes.

2 Included here is the Day Parolee who, when sentenced, was attending an Institute of Technology plus working part-time as a janitor. On Day Parole, he continued to attend the Institute of Technology.

3 Calculation: 5.7 ·/· 6 x 100 = 95 per cent employment rate or five per cent unemployable rate.

4 Calculation: 3.5 ·/· 6 x 100 = 58 per cent employable rate or 42 per cent unemployable rate.

5 A particularly revealing comment was made to the author by one Correction Officer: "If you really want to know about Day Parole, you should come with us when we're trying to get some of those bastards up in the morning!"

6 For convenience, the lone Day Parolee released in December, 1968 will be included with those released in 1969 for the balance of this Study.

7 Remission amounts to a reduction in the length of time to be served by approximately one-third of the length of the sentence imposed. The Prisons and Reformatories Act allows one-quarter of the fixed term as statutory remission and three days per month as earned remission ("good time").

8 In these cases, the author referred directly to the inmate's file and recorded the date of sentence and possible discharge date from the Admission and Discharge Form. While none of the individual sentences to be served were more than two years-less-one-day, it would be quite possible that the actual length of incarceration could be longer than two years-less-one-day due to consecutive sentences and sentences altered by appeal. Prisoners serving such sentences are usually transferred to a Federal Penitentiary but in these cases, they were not. It is also possible that the Center's officials erred in the calculation of the admission and discharge dates. This possibility, however, is held to be minimal by the author because of the diligent attention paid in each case by at least three officials to the release date of the inmates.

9 In all likelihood the proportion of Day Paroles granted in conjunction with Full Parole would be higher than 26.2 per cent. Some inmates on Day Parole were known to prefer to spend a little longer time on Day Parole at the Center instead of being released sooner but having to be on parole in the community for a longer period of time. To some, it seemed more advantageous to "do more time" at the Center on Day Parole until their sentence expired and then be completely free upon release.

10 A note on one of these inmate's files indicated that he felt he was going to get into trouble so he decided to stay at the Center rather than subject himself to the temptations of the community.

11 In reviewing each of the violator's files, the author observed that many violations occur within the first few days of being on Day Parole. The first few days seem to be very crucial times in terms of making it through Day Parole or not.

12 This is probably an estimate. Several files were noted to contain estimates of earnings.

13 Order-in-Council 339/73, 6 March, 1973, Section 37 (2) of the Regulations Governing the Operations of Correctional Institutions.

14 Day Parole Statistical Report, 1971-72, 1972-73.

CHAPTER V

EXPLORING NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF DAY PAROLE

Introduction

Purpose

The purpose of this part of the Study is to explore aspects of the Day Parole experience that have largely been neglected by previous researchers. Particular attention will be paid to four areas:

1. The Day Parolee's view of Day Parole
2. The employer's perspective of the Day Parole Program
3. The response of the public to the Program
4. The strain that goes with the half-free status of Day Parole

Method of Data Collection

To more fully explore these neglected areas, the author surveyed Program Officials, employers and men on Day Parole. They were asked open-ended questions designed to allow them to answer in their own way and using their own words. The responses were summarized, paraphrased and recorded in long hand.

Presentation of Data

The responses of those interviewed are summarized, either in the form of tables or narrative accounts of their replies. A discussion follows in order to expand and clarify the area of concern. This in turn is followed by a brief conclusion.

The Day Parolee's View of Day Parole

Literature Review

In the review of the literature in Chapter Two, reference was made to the advantages of Day Parole for the community, the correctional system and the inmate. There were numerous testimonials from social scientists, lawyers, and correctional officials as to the benefits of the Day Parole experience. The literature adequately discusses benefits, advantages and the appeal of Day Parole from the point of view of the community and correctional system although the lack of research in this area was also noted.

One of the central parts of a Day Parole program is the participating inmate. The literature is full of praise for Day Parole in terms of the inmate but again there is very little research to substantiate the claims. The effect of the Day Parole experience on the inmate is largely unknown and it is only in very recent years that research has begun in this area.

Rather than attempt to measure the impact Day Parole may have on the inmate, this Study was concerned with more basic questions: Why are men in prisons interested in Day Parole? What do these men see as the benefits and advantages of being on Day Parole? How do they, as recipients of this privilege, view Day Parole?

The decision to explore this area was made after the author reviewed the available literature concerning Day Parole. The whole question of what the inmates thought of Day Parole had been touched only periodically by very few writers. Those who have dealt with the issue seemed to portray the inmate as thankful for and inspired by the opportunity to participate in such a program.

For example: Carpenter (1969:189) quotes from a letter received from an American prisoner on work release from a Federal institution:

> "...It never ceases to amaze me to be able to walk up to that steel gate, walk outside, put a suit on and go and do an honest days' work......Completely trusted as I was I still felt humble for I never forgot where I slept at night......All in all I'd like to say thanks to all who were so kind as to trust me enough to put me out on this program and say it means the world to me and my family."

In a similar vein, Denton and Gatz (1973:44), discussing Ohio's Work Furlough Program, speak of the feelings of Ohio's prisoners: "To them the Work Furlough Program seems to be a ready release vehicle. Suddenly many of them aspire to higher learning and vocational training..."

Canadian correctional officials seem to have less dramatic ideas as to how inmates view programs like Day Parole. One official from B.C. in discussing their Temporary Absence Program reports:

> "We have, for some time, debated whether inmates wanted a work release as a means of escaping the restrictions of a correctional centre or to earn money for their discharge. It is generally felt that most men are interested in the monetary value and are anxious to pay fines, debts, and to build up a savings for discharge".[1]

Some research into the views of men on Day Parole has been done by Davies et al (1972). They surveyed 157 persons who were closely involved with the Province of Manitoba's Day Parole Program. This number of respondents included 87 inmates who had been, were then, or would likely be on Day Parole or Temporary Absence. They were concerned among other things with the degree of knowledge and understanding on the part of staff and inmates concerning the objectives of Day Parole, factors affecting eligibility and the nature of selection and assessment. The researchers found the inmates generally tended to see the purpose of Day Parole in terms of finances whereas the staff expressed the objectives in terms of its perceived rehabilitative potential (p. 45-46). Other perceived purposes were education, family and negative statements towards the correctional system. In terms of eligibility, both staff and inmates stressed the importance of attitude, with some staff showing more concern for treatment and risk to the community (p. 52). Concerning the selection and assessment process, the inmates tended to see other applicants going through the same or similar process (p. 61). The researchers were also concerned with the inmates views as to specific conditions of the Manitoba Program, such as the paper work involved in a Day Parole application, the nature of staff involvement in the program, financial matters of Day Parolees and institutional facilities and resources.

Crispino (1974) surveyed a number of men on TA in Ontario as to their perceptions of the positive and negative aspects of the TA Program (p. 25-30). Positive factors were seen in terms of privileges, facilities, keeping in touch with society, holding a job and financial benefits. The most frequently mentioned negative factor was the apparent lack of support for the Program on the part of many staff members.

The Benefits of Day Parole

In an effort to add to the limited knowledge as to how men on Day Parole view the experience, the author personally interviewed thirty Day Parolees during the Spring of 1975. Rather than relying on correctional officials to identify why inmates were interested in Day Parole, it was decided to ask the men who were on Day Parole to explain their participation their own way. Part of the interview dealt with the respondent's philosophy about Day Parole and the perceived benefits and difficulties of Day Parole (see Questions 41, 43, Appendix V). The questions were open-ended, thereby allowing the respondents to answer as they wished. The author wrote down the general nature of the response. This approach was considered to be easier for the inmates to respond to rather than administering a prepared questionnaire to them. In addition, it was hoped that the more personalized approach via the interview would provide a greater degree of flexibility in exploring how the men felt about Day Parole. The responses were then categorized according to each reason cited by each respondent. No effort was made to differentiate between reasons in terms of priority or importance. Each type of reason was given equal status.

In order to ascertain why the respondents were interested in Day Parole in the first place, they were asked the question: "Why were you interested in Day Parole? The responses are reported in Table 5.1

TABLE 5.1

RESPONSES OF DAY PAROLEE'S AS TO
WHY THEY WERE INTERESTED IN DAY PAROLE

Reason For Applying For Day Parole	f	%
Financial	17	36.1
Freedom	14	29.8
Gradual Release	5	10.6
Better Facilities	4	8.5
Family	3	6.4
Work	2	4.3
Did not know	2	4.3
TOTAL**	47	99.9

**There were a total of forty-seven distinct reasons cited by the thirty respondents.

Table 5.1 shows that Financial reasons, such as making money for release and as one respondent put it, to "keep from losing everything", were cited most often. This reason was followed by the reason classified as Freedom. Responses in this category included comments like getting out of gaol even for a few hours, making time go faster and breaking boring institutional routines. One Day Parolee reported he applied for Day Parole in the hopes he could get out of prison even before he was eligible for Full Parole. Also included is the man who reported he "just couldn't do time twenty-four hours a day - I had to get out".

The third largest group of reasons had to do with the idea of Gradual Release. The men here referred to the hope of getting out and being around people before their complete release so they could avoid the anticipated shock of an abrupt discharge. One man referred to his plan of getting an apartment and having a job upon release. Another Day Parolee expressed the notion of graduated release as "getting back into things quicker".

The Better Facilities associated with the Center, represented the fourth largest category. Here, respondents expressed their concerns of getting away from The Fort and to the Center where visits were easier to arrange, passes on evenings or weekends were more frequent and, of course, the main attraction, Day Parole.

Only three men referred directly to Family matters such as supporting dependents and one of these men referred to getting his common-law wife established in an apartment. Two Day Parolees spoke only of going to work and attending a Life Skills course. Surprisingly, two Day Parolees reported that they were not very familiar with Day Parole until it was granted. One man said he did not know anything about Day Parole, other than what he heard from other inmates, until his Day Parole certificate arrived. The other Day Parolee was not sure why he was interested. Apparently someone told him to apply for Day Parole, so he did.

Obviously the main motivating forces reported by this group of Day Parolees were Financial reasons and ones associated with relief from the prison experience. If the categories Freedom and Better Facilities are combined, as they represent similar matters, the prime reason for applying for Day Parole becomes Freedom (38.3 per cent) followed closely by Finances (36.1 per cent). That so few men expressed Family concerns as their reason for applying for Day Parole serves to emphasize the apparent weight that even married men attached to reasons associated with Freedom.

The interest in Day Parole for this sample of inmates, then, appears to be motivated as much by what Davies et al (1972) referred to as Negative Statements About the Correctional System[2] as by more positive concerns such as Finances, Family or Gradual Release. In a sense this finding points the way to the idea of self interest as the prime motivating force for Day Parolees. They want to better their lot first. Additional arguments in support of this interpretation lie in the fact that Finances, particularly money on release, is also an important motivator. Many of the men in this Sample wanted money in their pockets when they were released. This is in fact just what happened to their money for as we say in Chapter IV much more of their money was put into their pockets upon release than put toward supporting their dependents, paying their debts or making restitution to their victims.

That self interest apparently plays such an important part in the Day Parole experience is understandable given the fact that imprisonment means, first and foremost, deprivation and a sharp curtailment of personal freedoms. To try and avoid such a situation would seem to be a natural human reaction. Day Parole appears to be one way through which inmates initially see relief from their deprived condition and a way to reduce the severe restrictions on their personal freedoms.

The interviews with the inmates on Day Parole were conducted at a time when the men were about to be released. Their Day Parole was just about over. To get an idea of how the men felt about their experience on Day Parole, they were asked: "What do you see as the benefits of Day Parole? In what ways has Day Parole helped you?"

Table5.2 presents the responses as to the benefits and advantages of Day Parole.

Table5.2 shows that the Day Parolees felt that the Day Parole experience helped them in three main areas:

Financial, Freedom and Gradual Release. The Financial benefits were most often expressed in terms of "making a few dollars to have when I get out". One man mentioned the idea of not having a chance to spend his money. The Freedom benefits here, as in Table 5.1, most often expressed the idea of getting out of gaol. Many thought Day Parole was a better and faster way to do their time. Day Parole was seen as a welcome break to the prison routine of the Center. As one inmate put it, "A day in here seems like a week". The Gradual Release comments referred to the idea of gradually getting used to street life getting used to working again, meeting new people particularly non-inmates[3], getting used to being out and generally making some progress in re-establishing themselves in the free community to which they would soon return.

A sizeable number of comments concerned Personal matters. Ideas mentioned in this regard included time to think about one's values and about priorities, both past, present and future. Also included were comments about increased self-respect and pride. The feeling of personal freedom was expressed - freedom to live more like a human being even for only a few hours. This apparently helped some of the men feel a part of the larger society. One inmate said "Day Parole kept me from cracking up".

Other reported benefits of Day Parole were in terms of the actual activity on Day Parole. One inmate reported he benefited by gaining more employment experience. Another said he would not have finished school if he had not gone on Day Parole.

TABLE 5.2

RESPONSES OF DAY PAROLEES AS TO
PERCEIVED BENEFITS AND ADVANTAGES
OF BEING ON DAY PAROLE

Benefits	f	%
Financial	20	29.0
Freedom	19	27.5
Gradual Release	17	24.6
Personal	11	15.9
Work	2	2.9
TOTAL***	69	99.9

***The thirty respondents cited a total of sixty-nine distinct benefits or ways in which Day Parole helped them.

A comparison of Tables 5.1 and 5.2 reveals some interesting patterns. The priority of Financial and Freedom concerns at the initial of application stage of Day Parole (Table 5.1) and the end of the Day Parole experience (Table 5.2) confirms the importance of these things to the inmates. These concerns however do not appear to be as pronounced at the later stages of Day Parole. Concerns such as Gradual Release and Personal matters become much more important during the Day Parole period than they did when the man first applied for Day Parole.

These findings indicate then that Day Parolees initially see Day Parole mainly as a way of reducing the deprivation and curtailment of usual freedoms that go with being in a prison (such as The Fort where security concerns are an ever present fact of life). A transfer to the Center at least gets them out of the Fort and the prospect of a job on Day Parole appeals to their needs for money, basic physical necessities (food, clothing, and shelter) and psychological needs (status, power, and influence). Once the men are out of that situation, (i.e. on Day Parole from the Center), Day Parole still retains its attractiveness as a way of relieving the pains of imprisonment. The men really appreciate getting away from the Center even for half a day. They respond positively to the idea of making money and look forward to having a sum of money in their pockets upon release.

Also at this stage, however, the Day Parolees appear to appreciate a greater degree than at the time of their application for Day Parole other aspects they associate with the experience. Included here are matters relating to Gradual Release and Personal concerns.

The Day Parolees at this point have increased the proportion of positive sentiments toward these matters and have reduced their concern with Financial and Freedom matters. This indicates that when inmates apply for Day Parole, they see Day Parole in relatively simplistic terms, mainly Financial and Freedom. Once they are on Day Parole, however, the inmates tended to see Day Parole less simplistically. While Financial and Freedom concerns were important positive features of Day Parole, so were Gradual Release and Personal matters.

The Negative Side of Day Parole

The discussion so far has dealt only with what the Day Parolees have identified as positive things about being on Day Parole. All the positive aspects concerned their own immediate situation. None of the immates in this Sample made mention of any benefits of Day Parole accruing to the community or to the correctional system. As well as determining what aspects of Day Parole were most appealing to inmates, it was also possible to get some idea of what aspects of Day Parole were considered to be problems. To explore this aspect the Sample of Day Parolees were asked, "What do you see as the difficulties of Day Parole? What are some of the things that bother you about the Day Parole Program?" Once again their responses were recorded in longhand and then categorized into distinct responses. Table 5.3 reports these responses.

Table 5.3 shows the most frequent difficulties and concerns the fact of having to come back to the Center and the rigidity of the Program. These categories could well be combined, thereby forming 63.7 per cent of the cited difficulties. These problems could best be called complaints about the Program. Included here are comments about poor meals, noisy dorms and a lack of useful things to do in the evening. The comments directed at the rigidity of the Program referred mainly to what the Day Parolees considered to be petty rules such as "you can't take time off when you want to", "you can't be with your friends and having a good time", and "you can't do what you want to do". Even though Day Parole represented a complete escape from the confines at The Fort and a partial escape from the confines of the Center, many Day Parolees expressed dissatisfaction with most of the Program rules and regulations. They felt they should be accorded much more freedom.

TABLE 5.3

DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATED WITH
BEING ON DAY PAROLE

Problem	f	%
Coming Back	16	36.4
Rigidity	12	27.3
Temptations	5	11.4
Staff	4	9.1
No Complaints	7	15.9
TOTAL*	44	100.1

* The thirty Day Parolees reported a total of forty-four distinct responses.

Several Day Parolees indicated that the temptations available in the free community were problematic for

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them. One man here said he found it "hard to stay on Day Parole and keep out of shit". Another expressed temptation in terms of his family - they were so close yet so far away; he wanted to visit them yet that could cost him his Day Parole.

A few men complained about the staff at the Center. Some figured they were getting a run-around concerning the finding of a job and others felt the staff did not respect or show trust to them.

There was a group of men that indicated they had no complaints about being on Day Parole. They seemed to generally accept the situation in which they found themselves although several plaintively wished they could go home each night instead of returning to the Center. One of these men indicated, "There's no use complaining here anyways" but he did not identify anything that he considered to be a difficulty over-and-above a complaint.

As with the advantages of Day Parole, the difficulties were seen by Day Parolees soley in their own terms. None of the men expressed the idea that the community in general or correctional system in particular would benefit from the Day Parole Program. Similarly, the Day Parolees saw the correctional system as a problem only to them. They did not express the notion that they may have been a problem to the correctional system or the community.

Who Should Get Day Parole?

As noted in Chapter III, the Day Parole Program officials considered Day Parole very much a privilege that was to be extended only to deserving inmates. While there was considerable range in what was meant by "Good Day Parole material", there was general agreement as to the need for careful selection[4].

To ascertain how the Day Parolees felt about selecting inmates for Day Parole, the Sample was asked, "Should all inmates have a chance to be on Day Parole?" 83.3 per cent of the men in the Sample replied affirmatively. They felt everyone deserved a chance and should be on Day Parole until they "goofed things up". They made particular mention of Day Parole for married inmates and for those who were serious and had "something going for them like school or a good job".

The five dissenters expressed various reasons for their opposition to Day Parole for all inmates. Three referred to temptations that would lead to a "goof-up" which in turn meant lost remission and more time behind bars. To them, Day Parole was seen as too risky for some. Others indicated that Day Parole is too easy so it should be the exception, not the rule, and only for those who were serious. One man felt sex offenders should be automatically excluded.

Conclusions

The Day Parolees generally favored Day Parole for most inmates, but with some reservations in certain cases.

So, in spite of the criticisms of what they considered to be petty regulations, the men on Day Parole saw Day Parole as a right to be withdrawn only upon violation.

They were mainly interested in getting out of prison, even if only temporarily, and making some money. By and large the regulations regarding Day Parole were seen as petty items to be tolerated. As noted in Chapter IV, the room and board deductions were seen by some as part of the price they had to pay to keep their Day Parole status and thereby get out of prison at least for part of the day.

This view of Day Parole, taken from the men who are the recipients of the privilege, is a rather long way from the inmate's view of Day Parole that has been offered by previous authors. These Day Parolees saw the Day Parole experience largely in terms of their immediate concerns of reducing the pain of imprisonment. This attitude or perspective of Day Parole may explain at least in part some of the findings in Chapter IV where this Sample of Day Parolees showed rather poor performance in supporting their dependents, paying off debts and making restitution to their victims. It may also help to explain why the alleged employment benefits were met at best only 50% of the time.

The Employer's View of Day Parole

Literature Review

Given the high proportion of Day Parolees who use their Day Parole for the purpose of employment, the attitudes of the employers of these men has the potential of having quite an effect on the Program.

Carpenter (1969) refers to an employer who initially resisted the hiring of Day Parolees until market conditions made it difficult to hire staff. At this point he condescended, hired a man on Day Parole, was more than pleased with his performance and has been a willing employer of Day Parolees since then. Other writers have made reference to the solid support for the idea of Day Parole on the part of employers yet only Cooper (1970) explored the issue to any great extent.

Cooper (1970) used questionnaires to survey a sample of employers regarding their experience with Day Parolees. Most of the employers were satisfied with the performance of work release employers and generally desired more, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled workers. He concluded the demand for work-release labor was "based on both a need for unskilled labor and a desire to contribute to the success of the work-release program" (p. 433). Cooper speculated that the circumstances of Day Parolees may serve to make them more conscientious and dependable employees than the average free man.

The Local Employers

In view of the lack of research in this area, it was decided to explore this aspect of the Day Parole experience. As noted previously, at least forty per cent of the jobs held by Day Parolees at the Center during three years of operation were "Joint Jobs". Obviously these employers played an important part in the Program.

Several of these jobs, such as working at the Sod Farm or Cemetary, were seasonal in nature. Others like the poultry processing plant, the paper salvage firm and the roof truss firm operated year-round and hired men on Day Parole regularly throughout the year. These three firms together employed approximately one-third of the Day Paroless. In view of their high degree of involvement with the Program over an extended period of time it was decided to contact these three employers and explore their views about Day Parole.

At each of these firms there was one man with whom the Center had regular contact. In each case this man was the shop foreman or plant manager, a person who had the authority to hire and to fire employees and who also was in a position to get to know the Day Parolees personally at least to some extent. These persons at the roof truss firm and paper salvage firm were in the best position to become personally acquainted with the Day Parolees because their firms were considerably smaller than the poultry processing firm. During September 1975 the author contacted these key people at the three firms and made arrangements to interview them about their experiences with the Day Parole Program. At this time the author was a member of the staff at the Center, and the men in these firms readily agreed to the interview[5]. The interview took place at the plant sites of these firms. A tour of the plant was arranged before the interview. The tour and interview were arranged during normal working hours. At the paper salvage firm and the roof truss firm the interviews ranged from one to two hours in length. Responses to the author's questions were summarized in longhand. At the poultry processing firm the author was advised that there was not much time available so the questions to be raised during the interview had to be covered during the tour. Brief notes were made at the time and later an effort was made to make the responses more complete. Needless to say this interview provided the least information. The other two interviews were relaxed sessions over cups of coffee. All in all the author's concern with how these firms saw Day Parole was accepted with keen interest and co-operation by the employers.

The interviews covered a number of areas. Included in this part of the Study will be the nature of their business, their philosophy about Day Parole, and their employment of Day Parolees. Other aspects such as the public reaction to Day Parole and the strain that goes with the half-free status of being on Day Parole, will be dealt with in other parts of this Study.

The Nature of the Businesses

The roof truss firm was located in northeast Edmonton within a mile of the Center. The staff of about twenty-five built wooden roof trusses for commercial, residential and farm buildings. It operated on the assembly line principle. Some staff members, including the respondent, took orders and drew up the required plans and specifications. The next step was to select appropriate material from the stockpiles in the yard, do the necessary cutting, place the pieces in the correct position, fasten the pieces together and pile the completed truss package at the other end of the yard for delivery. The respondent indicated that Day Parolees worked at the cutting, assembling, fastening, loading, and delivery stages of the process.

The paper salvage firm was located in south central Edmonton. Its staff varied from fifteen to twenty persons and it collected paper of all kinds from groups such as churches, schools, service clubs and businesses using paper products. The paper was usually trucked to the plant where it was sorted into different grades, packaged into bales and sold to building product or recycling firms locally and internationally.

The poultry processing firm took live poultry in through one end of the plant and sent fresh or frozen poultry out the other end. In between the birds were hung, cleaned, packaged and loaded for delivery. The firm employed about 200 persons and the respondent indicated that Day Parolees were employed wherever a man was needed at any point in the process.

The Employment of Day Parolees

Given the nature of these firms, most of the jobs performed did not require a high level of skill. Most were manual labor jobs. The roof truss and paper salvage firms needed a few men who could operate machinery such as forklifts and truck-trailer units. These jobs were usually reserved for the senior staff in the firms although it was reported that Day Parolees occassionally performed these duties.

Based on the interview schedule (See Appendix V) the following information was obtained about the employment of Day Parolees.

All respondents indicated they required very little information from the Center about the men on Day Parole that they hired. They are only concerned with the man's name and age. One respondent replied that he also wanted to know whether the man was Native or White. He said it did not really matter, he just wanted to know. They did not inquire of the Center as to the man's background or charge nor did the Center offer information as to the charge or length of sentence because of the confidential nature of the information.

When asked to compare the jobs held by Day Parolees to what they knew of the men's previous jobs, the respondents generally felt they were about the same. One respondent figured thay maybe half of the men who worked for him probably had better jobs before than the ones they were performing for him. Another respondent indicated that it was hard to tell because the Day Parolees did not often volunteer much information about themselves.

In terms of learning new job skills, the respondents felt that the men generally did not learn anything new. There was a chance of moving to more responsible positions like driving trucks or lifts if the man displayed a lot of initiative but this was an infrequent occurance.

The respondents were very much in agreement as to the good points of having Day Parolees on their payroll. One respondent summed it up concisely, "They are here on time, they work well and they can be counted on to show up". Another respondent echoed these sentiments: "It's hard to get steady help and I can be pretty certain the Day Parolees will be here." He felt that if he put an ad in the newspaper to hire men, about sixty would apply for the jobs. Most of these applicants from the street would be only interested in keeping their Unemployment Insurance up to date. Only two or three would eventually show up to work. By way of contrast, a phone call to the Center usually produced as many men as he needed, often the same day. Other factors mentioned were the good attitude of the Day Parolees plus the fact that they were not tired-out because of their previous night's activities. One respondent indicated that Day Parolees volunteer quickly for overtime.

The respondents had few complaints about Day Parolees as employees. One mentioned that once in a while the Center refers some very lazy men for a job. He called these men "read duds" and indicated they are dismissed very quickly. He also indicated that these "slack asses" are really no different from many men he hires straight off the street. Another respondent said he had no complaints at all. The third respondent reported the only difficulty he had concerned the times when the firm closed early and the staff were allowed to go home. He found it hard to decide whether to let the Center know that the Day Parolees were finished work or whether to let the men be on their own for awhile. Although he knew the men were to return to the Center immediately work was done for the day, this respondent confided that he usually ignored small deviations like this and let the men sneak away for a few hours to themselves.

The respondents felt the Day Parolees overall performance on the job was basically the same as their other employees. They felt the Day Parolees were quite consciencious about their work although, like any other employee, to some the job was just a job. The respondents further agreed that Day Parolees are often more prompt and reliable than the other employees. The respondents indicated that Day Parolees require the same supervision as other employees.

Employer's Philosophy of Day Parole

When asked for their views as to the objectives and benefits of the Day Parole Program, the employers identified two levels. One respondent spoke of Day Parole largely in financial terms. Day Parole was a chance for the men to "do something for themselves" such as earn money and get a place to stay. The money allowed them to get ahead. He also referred to the term "rehabilitation" as something to be hoped for. The other respondent[6] did not refer to the financial aspects but to more theoretical concerns. He felt the process of going out to work in the morning and returning to prison in the evening taught the Day Parolees more responsibility. He also identified contact with non-inmates to be important in helping them to get along with other people.

The respondents were asked to what extent they became involved in the personal lives of the men on Day Parole. One respondent was involved very little with the Day Parolees but, then, he had about two hundred employees for which he was responsible. The other respondents had more contact with the Day Parolees and became much more involved in their personal lives. One indicated that if a Day Parolee seemed "sincere" he would be willing to go out of his way to help the man. The respondent indicated that in the past, he has lent money to men on Day Parole and has had Day Parolees stay with him on weekends. He claims to have done little favors for Day Parolees like giving them a bit of overtime or letting them off early if work is slow so they can see their girlfriends before going back to the Center. He also has personally driven the men back to the Center rather than see them take the bus. He has, however, been "stung" quite often. This respondent said he is out-of-pocket about $150 that he has lent Day Parolees but was not repaid. Because of this he now does not get involved as much. He feels most men on Day Parole are not "serious".

The other respondent also drove men back to the Center and used to sponsor some Day Parolees on weekend passes. He indicated some of these men got into trouble so he does not do this anymore. He is prepared to talk about personal affairs if a Day Parolee wishes. He is willing to "help out if a guy wants to get back on the right side".

All respondents indicated a willingness to keep Day Parolees on the payroll once their sentence is over. All agreed, too, that very few of the Day Parolees accept this offer to stay[7].

Two of the respondents indicated they first heard about Day Parole from other businessmen. They were looking for men to hire, heard they could get men from Belmont, so they phoned. The third respondent reported that the use of Day Parolees at his firm was well-established when he started there in 1971.

Conclusion

These employers have a favorable view of Day Parole. Their first involvement came about as a result of the need to have unskilled labor. Their continued involvement with the Day Parole Program is still based primarily on the requirement of dependable unskilled labor. These employers were generally willing to give a helping hand to those men who they felt were trying to help themselves but because they have been "burned" in the past they are now somewhat reluctant to become too involved in the personal lives of the men on Day Parole. The employers are well satisfied with the work performance of men on Day Parole and in some ways they feel Day Parolees make better workers. They are willing to keep Day Parolees on the job once prison is behind them and express regret that so few retain their jobs.

These findings are similar to those of Cooper (1970) in that the demand for work-release labor first meets the need for unskilled labor on the job market. These findings also indicate that rather than wishing to contribute to the success of the program employers are then concerned with giving a helping hand to the few individuals who they feel are trying to help themselves. The findings of this Study largely confirm Cooper's speculation that the circumstances of men on Day Parole, principally the price they would likely pay "screwing it up", serves to make them more conscientious and dependable than many other unskilled workers.

The Response of the Public

Literature Review

The literature indicated that one of the prime benefactors of Day Parole is the public, financial benefits such as lower prison administration costs, increased personal income tax, less social assistance for families of Day Parolees and increased economic production are frequently cited.

Other reasons have to do with closer family ties, less disruption in the man's usual lifestyle and more chance for the men to discharge their duties and responsibilities as citizens. The assumption in all these claims is that by returning the inmate to the community, even only temporarily, both he and the community at large will benefit. Implied in these claims is that the public somehow knows about Day Parole and is somehow involved in ways other than a passive recipient of the offender into its midst. It would seem then that the public should have some hopes and aspirations concerning Day Parole.

As noted previously, the inmates have a very clear view of Day Parole: It lets them out of prison and enables them to make some highly cherished money. Certain employers have clearly defined views about Day Parole: It is a source of dependable unskilled labor. The correctional system had high hopes for Day Parole: It is part of the growing trend of taking corrections back to the community. How does the public view Day Parole? It is a part of the Day Parole experience that is constantly talked about but really so little is known. The literature has given some coverage to the views of those parts of society most closely involved with Day Parole Programs. The literature does not however contribute much to how "outsiders" such as the public feel about Day Parole.

To this end, it was decided to explore with the men on Day Parole, their custodians and their employers how others saw Day Parole.

Again, responses to structured interview questions (See Appendix V) were written down in summary form. These responses then formed the basis for the following discussion.

Employers

Beginning with the employers, they all indicated that their other employees are usually aware of the special status of men on Day Parole. The two smaller firms make a point of telling all new staff from the street that they hire men from the Center who are on Day Parole. The manager of the poultry processing firm indicates that many of his employees usually find out that a man is on Day Parole. Most, if not all, of a Day Parolee's co-workers, then, know about him. The employers report there usually are not any bad reactions to this situation. They did not report any disturbing incidents. It seems, therefore, that the other employees accept the presence of an offender in their midst without serious objection.

The employers report that the Day Parolees get along well with the other employees. The Day Parole status itself is not known to cause problems. One respondent pointed out that some Day Parolees, like any other people, are easier to get along with than others. On the whole, however, everyone gets along together pretty well. The poultry plant respondent felt that the Day Parolees mixed well with the other staff and did not keep to themselves. At the smaller firms, however, there was a tendency for the Day Parolees to stick together especially if there were quite a few working there at the same time. Even so, the employers did not feel this was a problem. The respondents indicated that their non-Day Parole employees did not complain or make comments about working with Day Parolees. One respondent reported that some of the other employees are curious about prison and ask the Day Parolees what it is like in there.

The smaller employers indicate they have discussed their experiences with other businessmen. The response of the other businessmen has been favorable. Apparently, they usually see it as a good idea and some have gone so far as to contact the Center on their own. The poultry processing plant manager indicated he did not say too much to other businessmen. He commented, however, that he has made calls to the Center on behalf of other food processing firms when they needed employees. All in all, then, the Day Parolees get along well with the other employees. The others do not seem to mind working along with the Day Parolees - in fact some are rather curious about prison conditions.

Program Officials

A second source of information about the public reaction to Day Parole comes from eleven Program officials. Included here were five Counsellors from the Fort, one Parole Officer and five Social Workers from the Center. Each was asked a series of questions (See Appendix V) about the reactions that people "outside" display about prisons in general and Day Parole in particular.

The officials identified three distinct types of responses from the public. One response is what might be called ignorance. All officials commented, some disparingly, how little the public knew about correctional institutions and what misconceptions they had. Outsiders usually did not distinguish between different types of institutions or different kinds of people or different procedures for dealing with inmates. The public knew some of the negative things, especially things that went wrong, like escapes, but few positive things, such as successful cases. Many people apparently had notions of prisons straight out of second-rate movies: heavy cons, guns and dangerous bogey men.

A second group of responses could be called intrigue. Many people were curious about what went on in prisons. Apparently, the staff were often asked questions like "What goes on in there?" "What are inmates like?" "How do you cope with working in such a negative environment?" Included in this group of curious responses are those that expressed interest in the processes traditionally associated with the concept of treatment and rehabilitation such as counselling and special programs. Questions here would include "How are these programs working?" "Do you get positive results?"

The third group of responses from the public could be called punitive. Included here were comments such as, "Why cater to those guys in there? I had to do it myself!"

The respondents reported many people feel the institutions are spoonfeeding inmates and were too easy on them. The best way to handle them was to make them do their time and the officials should not be in such a hurry to let them out.

The officials on the "inside", then, generally encountered three types of reactions from "outsiders", from the public. Many people were only vaguely familiar with the world of corrections. Many were very concerned because there was not enough punishment involved and many others were concerned that the efforts toward rehabilitation be continued. This is how the officials saw the public reacting to corrections in general.

The same observations are applicable to Day Parole in particular. The respondents indicated that many "outsiders" know very little about Day Parole. Others feel that the Program is just another example of pampering criminals while others reportedly felt it was a good move: it was good to give inmates some responsibility. Some people thought it was a progressive program while others reacted "Why should those guys be let loose in society?"

Day Parolees

The third source of information outlining the public reaction is the Day Parolees. Their experiences with the public can provide valuable indicators of the public reaction.

When the men get on the bus in the morning there reportedly was not usually any noticeable reaction from the passengers. The respondents felt the passengers did not know they were from a prison. The men indicated they wore "street clothes" and looked just like any other men going off to work. One respondent reported he noticed people at the bus stop tended to shy away from the men "when there was a bunch of us".

Once at work it was reported that more often than not the other employees knew of the man's Day Parole status yet it did not seem to adversely effect their relationships at work. Apparently the other workers often did not react either positively or negatively to the Day Parolees. In most cases, knowledge that a man was on Day Parole did not make much difference at all. Some co-workers were curious about the Center and wanted to know what it was like in there. This curiousity also extended to what it was like to be on Day Parole. One respondent reported all his co-workers knew he was on Day Parole and they went out of their way to make things better for him. This Day Parolee said the most helpful and understanding person was a man who had been on Day Parole and was presently on Full Parole from a Federal Penitentiary[8]. Several other respondents reported being very well received at work. Comments such as "They don't put me down" and "I'm treated as a person, not as a con" are examples.

Only one respondent reported negative reactions at work: "The foreman almost fell out of his chair. He was scared shitless". Another replied that although his co-workers and immediate supervisors were supportive of him, he had heard the senior executives of the firm did not like the idea of hiring a criminal in the organization. There were several Day Parolees who indicated that older co-workers seemed to shy away from them apparently because of their semi-prisoner status.

Another type of reaction reported by some of the men on Day Parole could be called humorous. Some co-workers made jokes about being in prison. Good natured teasing like "Where are you going tonight?" occurred.

Conclusion

The Day Parolees, then, encountered very few negative reactions from their co-workers. Being on Day Parole did not usually make any difference in their relationships at work. Quite a few people were curious about prisons and Day Parole and some made good-natured fun of the predicament of the Day Parolee. There is some indication that older people had difficulty in accepting the idea of Day Parole. All in all, however, the public reaction as viewed through the eyes of the Day Parolee was neutral and/or positive. The men were generally well pleased with how other people treated them from the time they left the Center in the morning until they returned there in the evening.

An overview of these findings indicates that the reaction of those segments of society that are closely involved with Day Parole (the officials, the inmates, the employers and the co-workers) is one of either accepting or actively endorsing the Program. The opposition to the Program seems to come from people who are somewhat removed from the Program and who feel that the correctional system should punish offenders by making them do their time.

The Strain of Being on Day Parole

Literature Review

The literature generally speaks favorably of the benefits that part-time prisoners being to the community, to the correctional system and to themselves. The literature does not, however, deal very much with the difficulties that these same part-time prisoners might face as they proceed to generate these benefits. Earlier in this Chapter a number of difficulties encountered by Day Parolees were identified. The difficulties were mainly complaints about how the Center was operated. More basic to the situations faced by Day Parolees would seem to be their roles as part-time prisoners and part-time free citizens. Inherent in this situation is the possibility of role conflicts. The literature dealing with Day Parole has largely ignored this area. Zalba (1967:511) praises work-release because "it can provide (A) institutional supervison and (B) opportunity for offenders to perform the major socioeconomic roles". He does not discuss the possibility that role performances in such a setting may be somewhat dysfunctional.

In a wider theoretical context, Grupp (1970) discusses work furlough within the integrative or inclusive theory of punishment. He speculates that work furlough may contribute to the rehabilitation of the offender by facilitating the release process. The deterrence requirement is satisfied by the fact that the prisoner must spend his non-working hours in confinement. He indicates work furlough is not a soft touch nor is it necessarily easy time. Retributionists are to be heartened by the argument that "...it is in fact more difficult than serving a traditional sentence. As the inmate moves in and out of the gaol each day, he is continually faced with the pressures of having to adjust both to confinement and to free society". (p. 78).

There is some indication, then, that the combined role of prisoner and free citizen, while it certainly has its positive features may also produce side effects that up to now have not been clearly identified.

The presence of role strain, role conflict and status inconsistency have been well documented in general role theory[9]. It seems that these factors would be very much in evidence in Day Parole programs too. Carpenter (1969:189) recognized this and wrote "work release is not, however, lacking in problems for the man on the program... the prisoner has to adjust to free society every day instead of just once." Therefore, there are pressures and strains unique to the Day Parole experience but as Gupp (1970:78) notes: "The extent of these pressures and how the inmate absorbs and adjusts to them is an area that needs investigation."

As a result, this part of the Study was designed to take a preliminary look at the aspect of the strain of being on Day Parole. The purpose is to try to identify some of the dynamics that are involved in the strain of being on Day Parole.

In order to gather information on this aspect the author spoke with the Day Parolees, some of their employers and some of their officials involved in the Program.

The Presence of Strain

Employers

Beginning first with the three employers previously mentioned they were asked if they noticed signs of pressure or strain from the Day Parolees (see Question 31 of Appendix V). All these employers reported that they did not notice anything unusual in the bahavior of the Day Parolees that they would attribute to the Day Parole experience. These men, who collectively had known hundreds of Day Parolees over the years, reportedly did not see any behavior on the part of Day Parolees that made them somehow different than their other employees.

Program Officials

Similar questions were asked of the staff at The Fort and the Center, as well as the Parole Officer (See

Questions 23, 24, Appendix V). All the officials indicated that being on Day Parole does indeed place the men in a tough spot. Some of the staff feel it is harder to be on Day Parole than to stay in an institution. Others mentioned the men have to face the temptations available on the street plus the pressure from other inmates, even at the Center, to bring in contraband. Each day, a Day Parolee is treated in two different fashions: one as an inmate and one as a citizen. The staff did not specify what exactly happened to the Day Parolees other than general belief that it made things more difficult for them.

Although the officials at The Fort did not go into much detail concerning the nature of the pressures facing Day Parolees the officials from the Center[10] did report a number of behaviors suggesting various ways in which Day Parolees responded to the tension. They violate, sleep a lot, and get sick. They get away from the Center as much as possible on passes. They feel very self-conscious. They stick together. Their conduct ratings go down. They are more uptight and resentful of the staff checking up on them at work and when they return to the Center. They lead two lives and develop a split personality. They realize there is not much time left so why ruin a good thing and do more time by goofing around.

These, then, are some of the reported ways by Program Officials in which men on Day Parole handle the pressures of being on Day Parole.

Day Parolees

This aspect of the Day Parole experience was also explored with the Day Parolees (See Questions 50, 51, Appendix V). Most of the men indicated they felt pressures and tensions as a result of spending part of their time in gaol and part of the time on the street. Five Day Parolees reportedly did not feel any added pressure or tension. Their response to being a prisoner and a free citizen was stoic: "That's the way it is. You soon get used to it". Many of the Day Parolees expressed the nature of the strain quite clearly. Some felt left out of street life because of having to return to the Center. Some felt restricted, both at work and back at the Center. Some felt different than other people, particularly when they were first on Day Parole. Some felt an anxiousness about being released: they were half-out already and chomping-at-the-bit to get the rest of the way out. Some were mad at having to return each evening. Some were confused and it "bugged" them to be two different people. Some did not feel free even when away from the Center. Some felt depressed when at or coming back to the Center. Some felt "screwed up" by the temptations available. One said that he felt like a dog at the end of a rope; and like a citizen but not as a citizen. Some felt continually in a state of temptation, of being taunted. Others were worried about how things were at home and at the Center. Some were paranoid - they felt someone was always looking over their shoulder.

Some Day Parolees reported that they did not feel pressured or strained. Most, however, did and it seemed the strain was felt somewhat differently by each man. An overview seems to show that feelings of alienation were quite strong, despite the fact that they spent half the time in the community. Another dominant feeling seems to be one of excitement. Day Parole was a chance to get out of prison and to court the temptations awaiting in the community. There also seemed to be confusion in the minds of the Day Parolees. Were they free or not? How could they continue wearing two hats?

The Day Parolees were also asked how they handled the strain. How could they cope with the feelings they reported? As with the nature of the strain, the methods of handling it were quite clearly articulated and quite varied. Some had long talks with their wives. This helped reduce the pressure and helped them decide there really was not much longer to go: just "hang in there". For many, the knowledge that being caught for a violation likely meant a one-way ticket back to The Fort was sufficient motivation to surpress thoughts of taking off or fooling around. They believed any more time was too much time. To take their minds off the temptations, some mentally "took Belmont to work with me, so I wouldn't forget". Similarly, when they were back at the Center, they tried to keep their minds on "street things". Others took the opposite approach. They tried to forget the

Center when they were at work and they tried not to think of "outside" once they got back to the Center. Several men reported they tried to forget the prison part of their life by not getting involved with anyone or anything. They preferred to just eat and sleep. Still others reported they reacted by getting very much involved in cards, pool, sports, reading, and conversations - anything to make the time go faster. Some tried not to think of getting out - that apparently makes things worse.

As this discussion indicates the Day Parolees handled the strain in various ways. Withdrawal was a common mechanism. Others kept as busy as they could. Most persuaded themselves that they were not going to go back to The Fort and therefore they had better get control of themselves quickly. The threat of going back to The Fort was an effective deterrant according to these men.

A phenomenon mentioned by most of the Day Parolees was the U-shaped nature of the strain. Apparently during the first few days of Day Parole they felt "very shakey". They were excited to be out yet they felt the stigma of the prisoner. One man explained it this way: "I felt like I had "PRISONER" stamped on my forehead." A number indicated they initially had a lot of trouble conversing with co-workers - they did not have much in common to talk about.

After a period of two or three weeks the men reported they slipped quite easily in the routine of being a prisoner and a citizen. They learned again how to get along with street people and they never forgot how to do time at the Center. They settled down and went about their life at work and the Center without too much difficulty.

The last week of Day Parole is apparently unstable again. Now they are very close to being completely free of prison, not just half free. They indicated they get nervous, excited and jittery. The men indicated that the threat of going back to The Fort is very important at the last part of Day Parole. To lose "good time" now and be returned to The Fort was, by their own admission, just not worth it since they were so close to the end. Several indicated that they tried to keep control of themselves at this stage by not thinking about getting out: "I won't think about getting out until I am out".

Conclusion

There is a special strain placed on the Day Parolees by virtue of the status as half-prisoners and half-free citizens. This strain is not especially evident at work. Back at the Center, however, it manifests itself to some extent in the eyes of the staff. To the men on Day Parole, however, it is very real.

FOOTNOTES

1 B.C. Corrections Branch Newsletter, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 2, October, 1974.

2 Unfortunately, these researchers cited only the modal response for the objectives of Day Parole. It was not possible to compare the mode to other responses of the inmate.

3 The author observed the Day Parolees to have a fairly high level of disdain for other inmates and Day Parolees. They often perceived others as ignorant and childish.

4 Also noted in Chapter III is the success rate of 89.9%. That rate reflects the fact that Day Parole selection practices have been quite successful at weeding out "Poor Day Parole Material".

5 Prior to arranging the interview, the author made a point of speaking with these men on a number of occassions over the telephone concerning certain Day Parolees. At the time the interview was arranged, the men were informed of the author's status as a student at the University conducting research on Day Parole.

6 This question was not asked of the plant superintendent of the poultry processing firm.

7 Officials at the Center and the respondent at the poultry processing firm point with pride to one man who started working at the plant on Day Parole. When his sentence was over, he stayed on for several years, made a lot of money and later accepted another position with a telephone company.

8 It is possible that the support offered to this Day Parolee by all his fellow workers was motivated by the fact that he was the boss' son.

9 For example, see Horton and Hunt, 1974:99-115.

10 The officials at the Fort had little contact with men on Day Parole. They only saw the ones who violated Day Parole at the Center and were returned to The Fort.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Introduction

This Study has examined selected aspects of Alberta's largest Day Parole Program. The purpose of the Study was to describe the Program, to test the extent to which certain claims made about the Program are true, to statistically analyse certain data contained in official records and to explore areas of the Day Parole experience that have been neglected by previous researchers.

Chapter I: The Present Study

This Chapter discusses the general nature of the present Study and presents background information vital to an understanding of the context in which this particular Program operates.

The background to the Study refers to the gradual use of imprisonment as a form of punishment for criminal behavior and, later, to a realization in some quarters that imprisonment is of doubtful value as a deterrant and reforming influence on inmates. The emergence of the Community Corrections concept is discussed and its particular application in Canadian Corrections is outlined by reference to Correctional legislation and procedure in Canada.

The need for descriptive data about an important and highly regarded Program such as this is important in view of the lack of this kind of information. The description represents the first attempt to describe who is involved in the Program and how it is administered.

The Study takes a number of claims about alleged financial and employment benefits that Program officials have attributed to the Day Parole experience. These claims are "put to the test" and measured against specific criteria in order to see to what extent certain goals of the Program are met. The statistical analysis of the distribution of certain characteristics in the entire Day Parole population to the end of 1974 presents a comprehensive picture of the inmates who were involved and some of the things that happened to them. This serves to add to the knowledge and understanding of the Program. An examination of the relationship between these characteristics serves to elaborate even further some of the features of the Program.

There are a number of aspects of the Day Parole experience that have not received much attention so this Study explored the Day Parolees' view of Day Parole, the employers' interest in Day Parole, the response of the public to Day Parole and the strain that goes with being half-free and half-imprisoned every working day.

To collect the data for the Study, the author relied on personal knowledge, interviews with Day Parolees, employers and Program officials, and official records kept about the Program.

Some of the data is presented in narrative form while other data is best suited for presentation in tabular form followed by a discussion of the findings.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

This Chapter reviews the available literature dealing with

Day Parole. Most of the literature deals with Day Parole in the United States although there is some information about similar programs overseas. The lack of literature dealing with Day Parole in Canada is noted.

Most of the published material available is descriptive and refers to the operation of specific programs. Few authors deal with Day Parole within a theoretical context other than the popular trend toward corrections in the community. Most authors speak highly of the idea of Day Parole and extol the virtues for the inmate, the community and the Correctional System. Very little research has been conducted into Day Parole and some of the few studies available present contradictory findings.

Particular attention is paid to Day Parole and Temporary Absence in Canada. Some Provinces have well-established programs while other Provinces have made little effort to implement such Programs. Of the Provinces with Day Parole or TA Programs, only Ontario seems to be concerned with keeping facts and figures relative to the Program. This Province has also encouraged researchers to study its TA Program.

On a nationalistic note, most American and even some Canadian authors refer gratefully to Senator Henry Huber of the State of Wisconsin who, in 1913, initiated Work Release legislation in the United States. More attention to the works of Anderson (1957) and Lavell (1926) would show that Canadian correctional officials, particularly Lavell, himself, and Rev. W.F. Findlay of Ontario's Langstaff Prison Farm in 1913, were also very concerned with alleviating the unproductive conditions of the prisons at the time. Senator Huber also is credited by many as a man concerned about the waste of talent and idleness associated with men in prison. In this regard, the following note from Waldo et al (1973:374) is of particular interest.

> "It is interesting to note that Wisconsin's Huber Law was not introducted or passed as a measure to improve the rehabilitative consequences of the prison experience. Indeed, its explicit motivation was the temporary release of sufficient labor to harvest an apple crop that gave promise of spoiling due to the lack of customary migratory labor. The apple crisis having passed, implementation of the Huber Law in Wisconsin was seldom realized in the subsequent thirty or forty years."

This note serves to call into question the motivation for changes in correctional legislation and procedure. It should re-affirm to researchers, particularly those concerned with crime and correction in society, the need to question, to explore and to research their field. For example, Fox (1971:50) writes:

> "In late August 1969, the Department of Correctional Services of the Canadian Province of Ontario introduced for the first time, a systematic temporary absence scheme for adult prisoners." (emphasis added).

Fox seems to be guilty of "re-inventing the wheel" as he failed to take into account the works of Anderson and Lavell that dealt with what could be the first permanent Day Parole/Temporary Absence/Work Release program in North America.

Chapter III: Day Parole at Belmont

The setting for the Study is described, where inmates destined for a period of Day Parole usually begin serving their sentences at the Fort Saskatchewan Correctional Institution. They were transferred to the Belmont Rehabilitation Center, from which they went on Day Parole. The Edmonton office of the National Parole Service facilitated the wishes of the institutional officials by authorizing the period of Day Parole.

Particular attention is paid to the selection of Day Parolees. Prior to mid-1974, the key people in terms of deciding who was to be considered for Day Parole were the Social Worker/Counsellors at The Fort. Each of these officials had a large caseload for which they were responsible to counsel and to plan a program of activities. Out of the relationship between these officials and their inmates came a proposal to a Classification Meeting where the first official consideration was given to Day Parole for an inmate. The officials at The Fort at this time had a great deal of discretion in terms of taking the matter of Day Parole further or letting the issue die in the cell-block or dorm.

In late 1974, Alberta's Ombudsman was asked to review the procedures relative to the granting of Day Parole. He found a variety of forms and procedures were used throughout the Province. The Ombudsman recommended that Day Parole application and selection procedures be standardized. They were. From then on, any inmate could apply for Day Parole at any time in his sentence. The application went directly to the National Parole Board in Ottawa. As a result of these procedural changes, the Social

Worker/Counsellors at The Fort had been divested of much of their informal authority in terms of selecting Day Parolees. The Social Worker/Counsellors now could only offer a recommendation for or against the granting of Day Parole.

The weekly Classification Meeting at The Fort also became a recommending body rather than a quasi-decision-making body in terms of Day Parole applications. In the Spring of 1975 when much of the data for this Study was collected, the inmates could apply for Day Parole directly to the National Parole Board, not indirectly through the Social Worker/Counsellor and/or the Classification Meeting. The staff at The Fort and the Parole Officer forwarded their recommendations to the Parole Board for final decision.

The author attended a series of Classification Meetings at The Fort at which consideration was given to the cases of a number of inmates who had applied for Day Parole. Notes were taken in longhand as to the proceedings. In terms of the types of information presented for consideration, the length of time left to serve was mentioned most often. This indicates one of the most important selection criteria was the time element. The next item mentioned most often was the inmate assessment. This amounts to an estimation by correctional officials as to the "type of person" they were dealing with. Coupled with the personal assessment was consideration of the inmates' charge, sentence, age, family background, use of alcohol/drugs and his criminal record, in that order.

Most of this information was factual and largely objective in nature as opposed to information of a subjective nature where considerable judgement was required.

In terms of the length of time taken to reach a decision and the number and position of the contributors, a few officials (mainly the Classification Officer) processed a few pieces of information in a few minutes.

In addition to selecting Day Parolees in a group setting, individual Social Worker/Counsellors are called upon to make recommendations for or against Day Parole. Five of these officials at The Fort plus the Parole Officer were interviewed by the author concerning how they selected "good Day Parole material" from their caseload. A clear picture of a good candidate for Day Parole emerged: he is a first offender with a good prospect of a job or educational opportunity and who has a desire to "improve himself". Implied, of couse, is that the man is not a security risk or obvious danger to himself or the community. Again, most of this information is of a factual nature, where "judgement calls" are limited.

The individual officials also have a clear picture of who is "poor Day Parole material". He has committed a sex offence or other violent offence and/or who intends to continue committing offences. This man is "not serious - he is playing games". For these cases, the officials rely heavy on their personal judgement of the applicant rather on information of a more factual nature.

There is often another stage in tne process of selecting men for Day Parole. This phase occurs at the Center and also involves the recommendations of individual officials plus a formal meeting.

The author attended a series of these meetings, taking notes of the proceedings. As with The Fort meeting, the time element was mentioned most frequently. Other information included the man's employability, procedural explanations, the man's conduct reports and his program of activities at the Center. Most of the information brought up at the meeting was of a factual, non-judgemental nature. In terms of the time per case plus the number and position of the contributors to the proceedings, a few people (usually the Center's Director) took a few minutes to process a few pieces of information.

The individual Social Worker/Counsellors were in general agreement that a "good Day Parole candidate" was a "good guy - someone with character" who had a job waiting or else really wanted to work. Most of the qualities they looked for in this regard required "judgement calls", not assessments based on more objective, factual information.

"Poor Day Parole" material was reported to refer to a man who was lazy, at the Center only to have a good time and whose conduct was "below average". Once again, the Social Worker/ Counsellors relied heavily on information requiring a great deal of personal judgement on their part.

A comparison of the meetings at The Fort and the Center indicates equal dependence on information concerning the inmate's personal assessment and his situation in the community. The Fort was far more concerned with the legalities of a case than the Center while organizational matters were more frequently mentioned at the Center.

Both meetings relied heavily on information where the individual judgements of staff members were extremely important.

Both meetings took approximately the same length of time to consider a case.

The chairperson of each meeting (a Classification Officer at The Fort and the Director at the Center) was the dominant figure and more officials usually contributed at The Fort meetings than the meetings at the Center.

In deciding on "good Day Parole material" the staff at The Fort relied nearly equally on the inmate's legal status, his community situation and the inmate's personal and conduct assessment. The staff at the Center relied mainly on the inmate's community situation. The staff at The Fort reached conclusions on "good cases" mainly on the basis of factual information whereas the staff at the Center relied heavily on "judgement calls".

To the officials at The Fort, a "poor case" was judged according to the man's assessment and his legal status. Staff at the Center also relied heavily on their assessment of the man but also on his community situation. At both institutions, but particularly at the Center, the staff relied heavily on subjective material to reach a negative decision.

In conclusion, with the absence of official or formal guidelines for selection, informal and unofficial items are very important. Selection, then, is not under the direction of law but rather under the direction of custom. It is not a precise, uniform or simple task. Instead, it is a complex process subject to the influences of person perception, group dynamics, individual philosophies of Day Parole, bureaucratic concerns and the varying pressures of the overall goals of the Criminal Justice System.

Once Day Parole was granted, the officials at the Center were notified. They in turn informed the inmate. The Day Parole documents were explained to and signed by the inmate, who at that point was ready to go to work. Some of the men located a job themselves while others relied on "Joint Jobs" often available through the Center.

With employment secured, the Day Parolees began the routine of going to work in the morning and returning to the Center in the evening. They usually travelled by bus. Most evenings were free, allowing the men to take part in group or individual recreational activities. The men had lockers to store their "street clothes" in. The men were periodically searched upon returning to the Center; so were their lockers.

Each Day Parolee was allowed three dollars per day for expenses in the community. They were charged four dollars per day for room and board. All money earned by the men was to be given to the Center for deposit in their trust accounts. All expenses had to be approved by the Director.

The Center was responsible for the daily operation of the Program. Parole Service officials did not usually become involved unless a violation occurred. When this happened, Day

Parole was usually suspended until disciplinary action was taken. If the man was returned to The Fort for a violation, the Parole Service immediately terminated the Day Parole Certificate.

Most men successfully completed their period of Day Parole. Having fulfilled the required period of imprisonment, they were discharged from the Center. The Parole Officer and the Center prepared concluding reports and the case was considered officially closed.

Chapter IV: Evaluation and Statistical Analysis

This part of the Study tested certain claims about the alleged benefits of Day Parole and it also statistically analyzed certain data available from official records.

Evaluation

Day Parole is said to enable a man to have funds upon his release from incarceration. In this Study, a Sample of thirty men were released with a mean of two hundred and fifty dollars. In an absolute sense, the claim is validated. In a relative sense, however, it is not, because half the men studied were released with less than one hundred and twenty-five dollars. This sum of money will not go very far toward the purchase of food, clothing, shelter and entertainment during the immediate post-release period.

Day Parole is said to enable a family man to support his dependents. Of the thirty men studied, twelve had families or other dependents. They contributed a total of $1647 to these dependents. Five family men did not contribute to the support of their families. Two men made contributions of an unknown amount. The five who did send money home averaged $329.00. The median was $200.00. One man sent home $1027.00. This represents sixty-two per cent of the total contributions. Therefore, only one man of the twelve supported his family to any large extent. As a result this claim does not receive much support in this Study.

Day Parole is said to enable a man to earn money and pay his debts. Only six of the thirty men in this Study made debt payments. The range was $30 to $475 with a mean of $178 and a median of $96. Assuming that all the men had at least some debts in the community this claim is only partially confirmed.

Day Parole is said to enable an offender to make restitution to his victim. In this Sample, only two dollars restitution was made and it was made to the Center for damage to Government property. This claim does not receive any support in this Study.

Day Parole is said to allow a man to keep the job he had before going to prison. Of the men studied here, twelve men were employed at the time of sentence. Six of these men had the same job on Day Parole as before. This represents a 50-50 chance of retaining a job.

Day Parole is said to enable a man to have a job upon release from prison. In this Study, half of the men who worked kept their job for a time after they left the Center. Two stayed at the job only a few days, four stayed on between one and two months and six men were still at their job at least four months after release from the Center.

Day Parole is said to allow a man to retain his earning power. By comparing reported earnings before Day Parole and earnings while on Day Parole, it was found that half of the men studied retained the same or similar earning power.

Day Parole is said to help an inmate learn The Work Ethic. The realities of life in an institution, however, severely restrict the responsibilities of the men. Even as full-time workers they have very little chance to go to work on their own, attend social events, go for a beer after work or handle their own money. The men preferred their present jobs to being in prison all day but half the men considered their Day Parole job worse than their usual job. The achievement of the Work Ethic is constantly hampered by practices associated with the smooth and efficient running of an institution.

Day Parole is said to allow a man to retain his job skills and/or develop new ones. Two-thirds of the men were unskilled and these men reported they generally did not learn new skills on their Day Parole job. One-third of the men were semi-skilled. Most of them report they could use their skills on the Day Parole job and most reported they were also learning new skills. The claim, then, is supported to a large extent for men with at least some skills to offer an employer. For men without skills however, the claim is not substantiated.

Statistical Analysis

The eight available variables, when cross-tabulated, yielded a mass of data that defies a brief summary. Therefore, in this part of the Study, only the principle findings will be reviewed.

From December 1968 to December 1974, there were 1294 inmates granted Day Parole from the Center. Two-thirds were under twenty-five years of age. Over time, the men selected were younger.

Approximately one-quarter of the men were Native, and they tended to be slightly older than White Day Parolees.

Most of the men were serving sentences between six and twelve months imprisonment. Over time, those selected for Day Parole were serving longer sentences. The older men tended to be serving shorter sentences than the younger Day Parolees. Native Day Parolees tended to be serving shorter sentences than White Day Parolees.

One-third of the men were on Day Parole for less than one month. Nearly ninety per cent were on Day Parole less than three months. Men serving longer sentences tended to be on Day Parole longer. Younger men were on Day Parole longer and so were White Day Parolees. Over time, the length of Day Parole increased slightly.

Nearly eighty per cent of the Day Parolees worked. The rest most often went to high school. Over time, employment became more important. Those who worked tended to be older than those who went to school. Most of the Native Day Parolees worked. Most of the White Day Parolees worked, too, and they dominated the Education category. Those on short Day Parole were most likely to work whereas for longer periods of Day Parole, the men were nearly as likely to attend school as work. The longer the sentence, the more likely the Day Parolee would attend school.

Nearly ninety per cent successfully completed the Day Parole experience without getting in trouble. For those who did violate, it was most likely due to drinking alcohol. If a man was to violate Day Parole, his chances were highest during the first quartile of the Day Parole period. The first few days seems to be the most crucial period. There was a fluctuating violation rate over the years. The younger men were more likely to successfully complete Day Parole than older men. Both Native and White generally had the same success rate.

The longer the sentence, the less likely the man would complete Day Parole satisfactorily. Similarly, the longer the period of Day Parole, the greater likelihood of failure. Those who worked and those who attended school had about the same success rate.

Half of the men earned less than three hundred dollars. Younger men tended to make more money than older Day Parolees. Over time, the earnings increased noticeably. White Day Parolees tended to earn more money than Native Day Parolees. Naturally, the longer the period of Day Parole, the more money earned generally.

A great many of these relationships varied from one condition to another. Nearly all measures of association were weak, ranging from 0.0 to 0.45. While many of the variations were of interest, none of them pointed to grossly discriminating practices in terms of age or race.

Other records show that over time, the Program relied less on construction jobs for the men and became involved in a wider range of types of jobs. "Joint Jobs" played an important part in the employment aspects of the Program.

Chapter V: Exploring Neglected Aspects

This part of the Study was designed to explore areas of the Day Parole experience that have been neglected by previous researchers. The men on Day Parole see the Program as a way of getting out of prison, even if only temporarily, and making some money. The regulations and rules governing their conduct are viewed as a "pain in the ass" and are largely seen as a price they are willing to pay to get out of prison. The men generally are not motivated to apply for Day Parole out of rehabilitative concerns but more from a desire to avoid and alleviate the pains of imprisonment.

The businessmen who hire Day Parolees speak favorably of the performance of these men. They generally work well, show up to work on time and are well-rested each day. They get along well with the other employees. In many ways, the unskilled Day Parolees that work at the "Joint Jobs" provided by the employers interviewed in this Study are considered to be better employees than workers available off the street. These employers need a steady supply of unskilled labor and the men on Day Parole at the Center represent a readily available source that meets this need.

By and large, the general public knows little about Day Parole. Those in close contact with the Program and the Day Parolees seem to support the idea. Co-workers of Day Parolees are not bothered by the presence of a criminal in their midst.

Indeed, they are rather curious of Day Parole and prison conditions. The criticism of Day Parole seems to come from those who are not very close to the Program or the people it involves and those who are persuaded by the punishment aims of the Justice System.

Being on Day Parole places the men in a unique position in terms of role and status. The two hats the men on Day Parole wear place considerable strain, pressure and tension on them. The Program officials are aware of this strain in a general fashion. They see evidence of the pressure and resulting coping behavior back at the Center. The employers do not see signs of the tension. The men on Day Parole readily identified the strain. They experience feelings of alienation, excitement and confusion. The tension is most pronounced at the start of the Day Parole period. During the middle phase of the period the tension has subsided. At this point the men easily slip back and forth into the roles of inmate and free citizen every day. Toward the end of Day Parole, the pressure re-emerges. The feeling of excitement is particularly strong - they are nearly finished their sentence. The desire to "fool around" is adequately curbed by the threat of losing remission and possibly going back to The Fort. The threat of continued imprisonment is a very effective deterrent at this point in the sentence.

The men cope with this pressure generally either by withdrawing to themselves and playing one role at a time or, conversely, by trying to blend both roles together.

The Present Study and Other Research

In terms of other research, this Study confirms Root's (1973) conclusion that institutional concerns play a key part in eligibility and participation. Like Fox (1971) found, selection is often based on favorable or unfavorable assessments of the applicant's personality. As with Cooper (1970), most employers were pleased with the job performance of the Day Parolees. These men were a valuable pool of unskilled labor. Similarly, the men with successful employment histories before going to prison were more likely to be selected and benefit from the experience.

In this Study, most of the men were unskilled and half of the men had jobs paying less than they usually made. This confirms the findings of Rudoff et al (1973) and Crispino (1974) that Day Parole rarely enhances a man's employability. In most cases, the occupational status, be it high or low, is perpetuated and for some, it is downgraded.

Rudoff et al (1973) and Waldo et al (1973) refer to a lower, more negative self-image associated with the Day Parole experience. The present Study has documented the presence of role strain for the men on Day Parole. The start and the finish of the Day Parole experience seems to be where the strain is greatest. At these points, the men are least sure of which hat to wear - their prison hat or their hard hat. This may well explain their lower, more negative self-image.

Like Davies et al (1972), it was found that the daily operation of the Program rested with the institutional officials. The involvement of the National Parole Service was largely to facilitate the temporary release of prisoners recommended by institutional authorities. The inter-agency cooperation in Manitoba is very similar to that in Alberta.

This Study differs from Davies et al (1972) and Crispino (1974) in terms of the inmate's interest in Day Parole. In their studies, financial and social reasons, respectively, were cited most frequently. In this Study, the desire to get out of prison was a prime motivating factor. Each study used interviews with Day Parole/Temporary Absence participants yet came up with different results. This may indicate biased interpretations of the reports of the men.

Future Research

Research on the Day Parole experience is very limited although some jurisdictions are now permitting and funding research into particular programs. Certainly more studies in terms of recidivism would help expand what is known about the impact of Day Parole on future criminality. A study of the Day Parole decision making processes of the National Parole Board would be relevant. A close look at what happens to men as they go through the Day Parole experience would throw additional light on the nature of the strain of being on Day Parole.

A more detailed look at the dynamics of the first few days of Day Parole would provide a clearer picture of why this period is so crucial to the success or failure of Day Parole. This type of research would have direct application to such programs and could point to ways that could reduce the vulnerability of men on Day Parole to "goofing up" at this time.

The need for monitoring Day Parole programs must be emphasized. Just to get a man out to work even though he is in prison is commendable but not to follow through on such items as restitution, debt payments and family support seems to rob Day Parole of much of its potential. Perhaps a Day Parole Contract between the authorizing body and the inmate that specifies what the man shall do in addition to what he shall not do would help the Program better achieve its objectives.[1]

Conclusion

Just where Day Parole/Temporary Absence/Work Release fits into the Correctional System and the extent to which it is implemented seems to depend on the people in charge of Corrections. Several American authors refer to the fact that although Work Release legislation has been on the books for many years, many jurisdictions have not acted on it enthusiastically. This also holds true to some extent in Canada. Day Parole/Temporary Absence in Canada occurs at a point in the Correctional System between imprisonment and freedom. In a sense, the participant is in "no-man's land". Fox (1971:61) nicely captures the dilemma of Day Parole:

> "If a man is trusted to leave jail, go to his place of work, return to jail in the evening, turn in his earnings to pay for his upkeep, to support his family, to pay his fines, and to accumulate savings for his release, why then can he not be trusted to do all these things under probation or parole supervision, but in freedom?"

Perhaps those in charge of contemporary Corrections may wish to consider implementing the Community Corrections concept one step further. Instead of having the prisoner on Day Parole/Temporary Absence under the supervision of a prison and returning there daily, consideration might be given to having the prisoner under the supervision of a person in the community. The man could then go home each night and he would be accountable not directly to a prison but to a person, a community custodian.

But, then, that would be "re-inventing the wheel". Lavell did this very thing in Ontario in the 1920's.

FOOTNOTES

1 Anderson (1957:46) reports that this type of arrangement was extensively used in Ontario's Extra Mural Permit System, 1913-1932.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

The following statement was read to the men on Day Parole after they had initially agreed to talk to the author about Day Parole. The statement was read in the privacy of one of the offices at the Center, with only the Day Parolee and the author present.

"I am from the Corrections Program at the University of Alberta and I am doing a study about Day Parole. Part of this research involves a description of the Day Parole program - how it is set up, how it operates and who is involved. Then I want to look at such things as the jobs the Day Parolees have, the public reaction to the program and finally what Day Parole means to the inmates. To get this information, I will be interviewing some of the staff at Belmont, some of the staff at the Fort, the National Parole Officer, some of the employers who hire Day Parolees and hopefully all of the people on Day Parole. There will be one interview with each Day Parolee and these interviews will be strictly confidential.

Once the information is gathered, names will not be used at all. I am not in any way officially connected with the Day Parole program or with any agency officially involved with inmates or parolees. In previous years I have worked as a Probation Officer and as a Parole Officer. I am doing this study for a thesis which is part of the requirements for a Master's degree from the University. Do you have any questions you want to ask right now and are you willing to be interviewed for this study?"

APPENDIX II

Selection of the Sample of Day Parolees

The method of selecting a sample of Day Parolees to represent the population as a whole was governed by the principle of "what was available" rather than more acceptable emperical procedures. It would have been possible to draw a random sample from the Day Parole Population up to the end of 1974 (N=1294) and then refer to the Inmate Files for certain data. This procedure was not adopted, however, because the data on file was poorly suited to the needs of this Study. It was therefore decided to rely primarily on interview data and only secondarily on file data.

To try and locate a random sample of men who had been on Day Parole would have proven to have been an overwhelming task and, given the nature of some of the data, the passage of time would probably have rendered many of the questions impossible to answer. It was therefore decided to select a "live" sample, a group of men who were on Day Parole at the same time the author was conducting the Study.

The author decided that thirty Day Parolees would be enough for the purposes of this Study. Detailed information both from thirty interviews and thirty files could be handled easily and it was presumed that more general concerns, such as the exploratory parts of the Study, could be adequately investigated through thirty men on Day Parole.

As a result, it was decided to compose the Sample of a block of thirty Day Parolees. Selection was started as of

March 10, 1975 when the author was ready to begin interviewing. At that time, a list of all men on Day Parole at the Center was developed. Their expected date of release was recorded and as the men neared the last week of their sentence they were contacted at the Center by the author for the purpose of the interview. As new men were granted Day Parole, their names and expiry dates were added to the list. Using this method a list totalling forty-one Day Parolees was drawn up.

It was not possible to interview everyone on the list. One man violated his Day Parole and was returned to The Fort. Three men were known as "6 and 1". They were on Day Parole in the community for six complete days, returning only one evening per week to the Center. Since their circumstances were quite different from the rest of the Day Parolees it was decided not to include them in the Sample. Three Day Parolees were released on Full Parole before they could be interviewed. One man was released on humanitarian grounds thirteen days before his sentence expired so he was unavailable for interview. Another Day Parolee who previously had lost some remission earned it back by performing extra cleaning duties at the Center and was released prior to the date anticipated by the author. One Day Parolee declined to be interviewed. He said he was being released the next morning and wanted to spend the evening finishing up some hobby material he was working on. The planned interviewing schedule was completed without requiring the assistance of one man. Thus, thirty of a possible 41 Day Parolees on Day Parole between March 10, 1975 and May 31, 1975 made up the Sample for this Study. Of the eleven not interviewed, nine were not available, one was not needed and only one declined to take part in an interview. These thirty men, then, formed the basis around which Chapters Four and Five of this Study were organized.

The interviews were not conducted under ideal circumstances. The Center's Director would not allow the author to contact the men at work nor could they be interviewed en route to the Center. Tape recording the interviews was not permitted. Therefore, the only available place for the interview was at the Center. The only available method of recording the interviews was longhand.

The author deemed it unwise to spend a lot of time around the Center. It was felt this would have jeopardized the entire Study in that only minimum disruption of the usual routines at the Center would be tolerated. While the reception of the author by the staff was far from hostile, some of the staff were not especially obliging, especially to requests that disrupted the usual way of doing things. Locating inmates in the evening for an interview with "some guy from the University" was seen by some as quite a disruption. The author decided to maintain as low a profile as possible in order not to alienate the staff. Without their cooperation the Study would not have been possible at all.

Some of the staff, particularly the Social Workers and one senior official, were very interested in the author's work. They were interested in other Day Parole programs and we had many interesting discussions centered around the literature available on Day Parole. Most of the staff appeared to be neutral to the author's presence and his task. Some staff, particularly some of the custodial staff, seemed to the author to be only marginally tolerant. In the presence of these men, the author felt very much an outsider.

The relationship between the author and the Day Parolees was far from ideal in terms of gathering data about their activities and feelings. We did not know each other at all until we found ourselves in an interview room together.[1] Given the routines the Day Parolees had to follow by virtue of their imprisonment, there was very little opportunity to get to know each other before the interview. Their respectively short period of involvement in the correctional process also added to the unfavorable circumstances. We did not have previous common experiences on which to base our relationship and our subsequent discussions. Even though this Study relied heavily on data obtained from one interview, it was under the circumstances the best arrangement possible. The author had to balance this Study somewhere between the demands of conducting research in this particular institutional setting and conducting research under more suitable conditions,[2] such as those recommended by Irwin (1972).

The interviews with the men on Day Parole were conducted in one of the staff offices at the Center. Most were held in the evening, after the men had returned from work, changed clothes and had supper. Some men were interrupted from recreational activities yet all but one was willing to forego these activities in favor of talking with the author. The men were paged to a centrally-located Control Room by the custodial staff.

They were met there by the author, advised of the purpose of the meeting and asked to take part. We then went to a near-by office where a more complete explanation was offered (see Appendix 1).

The interview then proceeded at a leisurely pace, giving each man plenty of time to respond to the questions. Each answer was paraphrased by the author and written down in the form of brief notes. Immediately following the meeting the author reviewed the notes, expanding and clarifying them. The author also made notes about his feelings toward the interview concerning the apparent cooperativeness and interest of the respondant.

Just what the men thought of the interviews is not known. For them, it was a "one-shot affair", with no contact with the author before or after the interview. At the time of the interviews several men reported they had heard the author was talking to Day Parolees about being on Day Parole and indicated they were looking forward to their turn.

After the interviews, several men wanted to hear more about the Study and about Day Parole in other jurisdictions. Whether their participation over and above the actual interview was sparked by a sincere interest in such matters or by the prospect of doing something different, and thereby breaking their normal routine, is not known.

A review of the author's notes as to his feelings about each interview reveals that for the most part, the men were seen as cooperative, pleasant, and communicated their responses clearly. Three men were initially suspicious about the questions they would be called upon to answer. They were given a copy of the questionnaire and allowed to read it over before the questions commenced. It was made clear to all men that they were not obliged in any way to remain in the room for the interview. They were free to leave any time they wished. Nobody did. Some of the men were more difficult to interview than others. Some elaborated clearly on their answers while others often answered "yes" or "no". Some were easily distracted by sights and sounds outside the interview room but most were attentive to the matters at hand.

A number of men asked the author for help. One man wanted to know about his period of Probation after his sentence was over. Another wanted to know if the author could find him a job. One man wondered if the author might know whether he would lose some "good time" because he came back drunk from work a few days previously. Another man wondered what the author thought of why people get into trouble.

The men interviewed for this Study were very cooperative. They seemed to understand the questions and answered these questions quite clearly. No one was hostile toward the author or the questions raised.

Attentiveness and apparent interest in the interview seemed to be present in all but a few cases. The interviews generally proceded smoothly and there was not a noticeable balking at any of the questions. This would seem to indicate that the areas covered in the interviews were not threatening or overly sensitive. The men seemed quite at ease once the interviews got underway.

Because of the "one-shot" nature of the interviews it was not possible to compare the responses at different times.[3] We are left to rely exclusively on the contents of one interview per man at one point in time.

In the absence of obvious "bull-shit", the author has concluded that the information obtained from the Day Parolees in this Study can be largely accepted at face value. The possibility of distortions and "bull-shit" does exist and as a result some caution is necessary in accepting the comments and interpretations of the Day Parolees. But, as Irwin (1972:126) notes:

> "If the context in which people obtain information is not normal, they may feel they are being lied to when, in fact, they are getting valid information, but from a shifted perspective."

To automatically discount what the Day Parolees have to say, then, is to rob a great deal from our potential to develop a little better understanding of this part of the world corrections.

FOOTNOTES

1 At every opportunity the author spoke of the nature of the Study to staff members so that the word could be spread as to who the stranger was and what he was doing. Special efforts were taken by the author to ensure that whenever inmates were within hearing distance, comments about the University, Sociology and Research on Day Parole was made. This was done in the hopes that the author would be seen as a researcher and not as part of the correctional system. In addition, the author had coffee with the Day Parolees in the evening whenever possible.

2 This study was the first piece of research conducted at the Centre and as such represents something of an achievement. Better circumstances will have to wait for other times.

3 It was possible to compare certain interview data, such as occupation, age, marital status and education with official records on the inmate file. While there were occasional discrepancies such as a one year difference in education, what the men reported to the author and what was on their files was basically the same.

APPENDIX III

Profile of the Day Parole Sample (N=30)

Age.
Range..........17 years to 38 years
Mode...........18 years
Median.........20 years
Mean...........21.8 years.

Education.
Range..........Grade 7 to 1 year Technical Institute (13 years)
Mode...........Grade 10
Median.........Grade 10
Mean...........Grade 9.9

Residence When Sentenced.
City...........23 (77 per cent)
Town........... 7 (23 per cent)

Marital Status.
Single.........17 (57 per cent)
Divorced....... 2 (7 per cent)
Married........ 6 (20 per cent)
Common Law..... 5 (17 per cent)

Offences.
Number
Range..........1 to 36
Mode...........2
Median.........2.5
Mean...........4.3
Total..........130

Type:
Property Offences
Break and Enter............84 (64.6 per cent)
Possession Stolen Property. 6 (4.6 per cent)
Theft Under $200........... 6 (4.6 per cent)
Theft Over $200............ 2 (1.5 per cent)
Take Motor Vehicle Without Consent......... 1 (0.8 per cent)
False Pretences............ 6 (4.6 per cent)
Uttering Forged Document... 1 (0.8 per cent)

Wilful Damage	1	(0.8 per cent)
Total	107	(82.3 per cent)

Drinking and/or Driving

Dangerous Driving	1	(0.8 per cent)
Fail to Provide Breath Sample	1	(0.8 per cent)
Disqualified Driving	4	(3.1 per cent)
Driving Over .08 blood alcohol	4	(3.1 per cent)
Total	10	(7.7 per cent)

Drug

Possession of a Narcotic	4	(3.1 per cent)
Possession of a Restricted Drug	1	(0.8 per cent)
Possession of a Narcotic for the Purposes of Traffiking	4	(3.1 per cent)
Total	9	(6.9 per cent)

Other

Assault Causing Bodily Harm	1	(0.8 per cent)
Arson	1	(0.8 per cent)
Fail to appear	2	(1.5 per cent)
Total	4	(3.1 per cent)

Usual Occupations

General Laborer	11	(36.6 per cent)
Medical Pensioner	1	(3.3 per cent)
Trucking	2	(6.6 per cent)
Welding	3	(10 per cent)
Oil Rigs	1	(3.3 per cent)
Pipe Fitting	1	(3.3 per cent)
Heavy Equip. Operator	1	(3.3 per cent)
Carpenter	2	(6.6 per cent)
Clerk	2	(6.6 per cent)
Gunsmith	1	(3.3 per cent)
Servicemen	1	(3.3 per cent)
Partsman	1	(3.3 per cent)
Janitor	1	(3.3 per cent)
Student	1	(3.3 per cent)
Musician	1	(3.3 per cent)

Racial Origin

Caucasian............	23 (76.7 per cent)
Metis................	2 (6.7 per cent)
Treaty Indian.........	3 (10 per cent)
Oriental..............	1 (3.3 per cent)
Negro.................	1 (3.3 per cent)

Length of Day Parole

Range.................	10 days to 114 days
Median................	53 days (7.6 weeks)
Mean..................	51.4 days (7.3 weeks)

Earnings While on Day Parole (N=26, three attending school, one not known)

Range.................	$0 to 1749
Mode..................	$0
Median................	$331
Mean..................	$516

Number of Previous Criminal Offences (Convictions) (N=29, one not known)

Range.................	0 to 24
Mode..................	1
Median................	2
Mean..................	4.9

Number of Previous Court Appearances (At time of last conviction)

Range.................	0 to 18
Mode..................	1
Median................	1
Mean..................	2.6

Length of Sentence (Days and Nearest Month)

Range.................	60 to 502 days (3 - 24 mo.)
Mode..................	122 days (6 months)
Median................	122 days (6 months)
Mean..................	173 days (8 months)

APPENDIX IV

BELMONT REHABILITATION CENTER

CONDITIONS OF DAY PAROLE

and

TEMPORARY ABSENCE PERMITS

1. The National Parole Service authorizes all day paroles.
2. Jurisdiction is maintained by the Superintendent, NOT by the National Parole Service.
3. The contract signed outlines conditions and limits the location and time of parole. Permission must be obtained for any activity outside this area.
4. Driving of vechicles to and from work is not permitted.
5. All cheques or cash acquired while on day parole must be presented to the Officer-in-Charge, in the same form in which it was received.
6. Bank accounts will not be started or maintained while on day parole.
7. A maximum of $3.00 from the inmate's own account may be taken each day. Unused portions must be turned in. Money not declared is liable to confiscation.
8. Any changes in schedule must be approved in advance by the institution.
9. The inmate is responsible for return to the institution when employment ceases or school is dismissed, etc.
10. An inmate will not be permitted to quit his employment without prior approval from the institution.
11. Inmates fully employed while on day parole or temporary absence permit will be required to pay to general revenue a fee for room and board, as authorized by Order-in-Council.
12. The use of drugs and/or alcohol is prohibited.

****

I AGREE TO ABIDE BY THESE CONDITIONS

DATE:____________________ SIGNED: ____________________________

Witnessed: __________________________

BRC #60

476-1337

BELMONT REHABILITATION CENTRE

The National Parole Board has authorized temporary absences from the institution at the discretion and choice of the custodian, with or without escort, during the period extending.

FROM: ____________ TO: ____________

FOR: ____________ an inmate of the Belmont Rehabilitation Centre,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF: ____________

AT: ____________

between the hours

OF: ____________ TO: ____________

In accordance with this authority, this inmate is hereby authorized to be absent from this institution for the purpose outlined above.

____

(Superintendent)

I hereby agree to abide by all instructions given me by the custodian, and to return to the institution

BY: ____________

I realize that I may be charged with "Being Unlawfully at Large", Section 125(b) of the Criminal Code, if I fail to return at the time specified.

I am aware that the [illegible] of alcohol or drugs is strictly prohibited.

____

(Inmate's Signature)

BRC #27

APPENDIX V

PROGRAM OFFICIAL'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1. Nature of the Work

QUESTION: 1. What is your official title?

2. What do you do? What is your job?

3. How does your job fit in with the others here? What do the others do?

4. Can you describe an average day?

Part 11: Public Reaction

QUESTION: 5. What sort of reaction do you get from people in general when they find out you work in a correctional institution?

6. What sort of reactions have you received from people about Day Parole in particular?

7. From your experience, what does the general public know about Day Parole?

8. Have you had any complaints from the public about the Day Parole Program or the people on Day Parole? Explain.

9. What sort of feedback about Day Parole have you received from employers?

10. What do the inmates say about how they are treated at work?

Part 111: Philosophy of Day Parole

QUESTION: 11. What do you see as the purposes and objectives of Day Parole?

12. Do you see Day Parole as a right or a privilege?

13. What do you see as the benefits/advantages of Day Parole?

14. What do you see as the problems, difficulties and disadvantages of Day Parole?

15. Do you think it is important that an inmate with dependents financially support them when he is on Day Parole?

16. Do you think it is important that a man on Day Parole pay room and board?

17. Should all inmates have a chance to be on Day Parole?

18. Who do you feel benefits most from being on Day Parole?

19. How important do you feel the Day Parole experience is during an inmate's sentence?

Part IV: Selection of Day Parolees

QUESTION: 20. What are the formal and official policy statements and regulations regarding eligibility and selection for Day Parole?

21. How do you decide who to recommend for Day Parole? What things do you consider?

22. How do you decide who not to recommend for Day Parole?

Part V: Strain

QUESTION: 23. Does being on Day Parole place any special pressure, strain or tension on the inmates?

24. How do they handle it?

EMPLOYER'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Part 1: Nature of the Business

QUESTION: 1. What type of business does your firm conduct?

2. How many employees do you have?

3. What do they do?

4. What jobs are the Day Parolees doing?

Part 11: Public Reaction

QUESTION: 5. How do the Day Parolees fit in and get along with the other employees?

6. Do the Day Parolees mix well with the other employees or do they tend to keep to themselves?

7. Do the other employees know about the prisoner status of the Day Parolees they work with?

8. What happens when the employees find out that they are working with a man on Day Parole?

9. Do the Day Parolees say anything about how they are being treated by their co-workers?

10. Do any of your other employees complain/comment about working with Day Parolees?

11. In your dealings with other businessmen do you tell them of your experiences with Day Parolees?

12. What has been their reaction?

Part 111: Employment Situation

QUESTION: 13. What sort of information do you get about each man from Belmont?

14. Based on your knowledge of a Day Parolee's background and employment history, do you think the job he has with your firm is better than/ same as/ not as good as his previous ones?

15. Do the Day Parolees learn new and important job skills that they did not have before?

16. What do you consider to be the good points of having Day Parolees working for you?

17. What do you consider to be the difficulties of having Day Parolees working for you?

18. How would you rate the Day Parolees overall performance compared to your other employees? Better/Same/Not as good.

19. Do you feel the Day Parolees take their work seriously or are they more concerned with doing just enough work to keep their job?

20. Is this any different than the other employees?

21. Do you consider the Day Parolees to be as prompt and reliable as other employees? Better/Same/Not as good.

22. Do you find that the Day Parolees require more/less/same supervision as other employees?

Part lV: Employer's Philosophy of Day Parole

QUESTION: 23. What are the goals, purposes, objectives and benefits of the Day Parole Program?

24. To what extent do you become involved in the personal lives of the men on Day Parole?

25. Why do you hire Day Parolees?

26. Do you give Day Parolees special consideration when hiring or supervising them?

27. Are you willing to keep Day Parolees on the payroll once their sentence is finished?

28. How did you first come to know about Day Parole?

29. What are some of the problems you find with the men on Day Parole or the Program itself?

30. From your experience what do the men on Day Parole think about Day Parole?

Part V: Strain

QUESTION: 31. Day Parole means a man is half-free and half in prison. Have you noticed any signs of pressure, tension or strain as a result of this?

DAY PAROLEE'S QUESTIONNAIRE

Part I: Personal Data

1. Name
2. Age
3. Education
4. Residence when sentenced - city/town/rural
5. Marital Status
   - single/married/separated/divorced/widowed/ common law
   - number of dependents?
   - how are your dependents being supported?
   - how much money do they receive?
   - how much money have you sent to support your dependents?

Part II: Employment Situation Before Imprisonment

QUESTION:

6. What is your usual occupation?
7. In the six month period before being sentenced, how long were you employed?
8. How many jobs did you have in this six month period?
9. When you were working, how much did you earn per hour, week or month?
10. When you were sentenced to gaol were you employed or unemployed at the time?
11. Do you have any special job skills or have you taken any special training?

Part III: Employment Situation While on Day Parole

QUESTION:

12. What is your present job?
13. How much do you earn per week, hour or month?
14. How long have you had this job?
15. How many other jobs have you had since starting the Day Parole?
16. Do you have the same job now as you had when you were sentenced? Same type of job?

17. How did you locate your presente job? (Find it yourself/through the institution/other)

18. How do you like your Day Parole job? (not at all/a little bit/pretty good/very good)

19. How do you compare it with your usual job? (a lot better/a bit better/about the same/ a bit worse/a lot worse)

20. Does your Day Parole job let you use your special job skills or training? (not at all/a little bit/quite a bit/very much)

21. What do you see as the positive things about your Day Parole job?

22. What do you see as the negative things about your Day Parole job?

23. Are you learning any new job skills that you did not have before? (not at all/a few/many). Discuss.

24. How useful do you consider these new skills to be in the future? (not very useful/a little bit/quite a bit/very useful)

25. Do you intend to stay on your Day Parole job once your sentence is over?

26 Are you going to use your Day Parole job as a reference for other jobs in the future?

27. How do you feel about your boss or supervisor?

28. How do you compare him **with** other bosses (better/ worse/same)

29. How do you feel about the people you work with?

30. Has your boss or supervisor ever expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with your work?

31. Are you allowed to take part in social events connected with your job?

32. Has your boss or supervisor offered to keep you at the job after your sentence is over?

33. At lunch time do you usually eat with the other workers or do you usually eat by yourself?

34. Do your co-workers know you are on Day Parole?

35. What happens when someone finds out you are on Day Parole?

36. How do you get back and forth to work?

37. How often are the Day Parolees searched when returning to Belmont?

38. How do the people at the bus stop react when the Day Parolees arrive?

39. Do the passengers on the bus know about the Day Parolees? How do they react?

40. What do you do in the evenings and on your days off?

Part IV: Philosophy of Day Parole

QUESTION: 41. What do you see as the benefits of Day Parole?

42. In what ways has Day Parole helped you?

43. What do you see as the difficulites of Day Parole?

44. What are some of the things that bother you about the Day Parole Program?

45. How do you feel about the deductions made for room and board?

46. Why were you interested in Day Parole at first?

47. What did you hope to accomplish while on Day Parole?

48. Should all inmates have a chance to be on Day Parole?

49. Which inmates benefit the most from Day Parole?

Part V: Strain

QUESTION: 50. Day Parole puts a guy in a special position of being half-free and half-prisoner. Does this put any special pressures, tensions or strains on you?

51. How do you handle this?

APPENDIX VI

ALBERTA CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

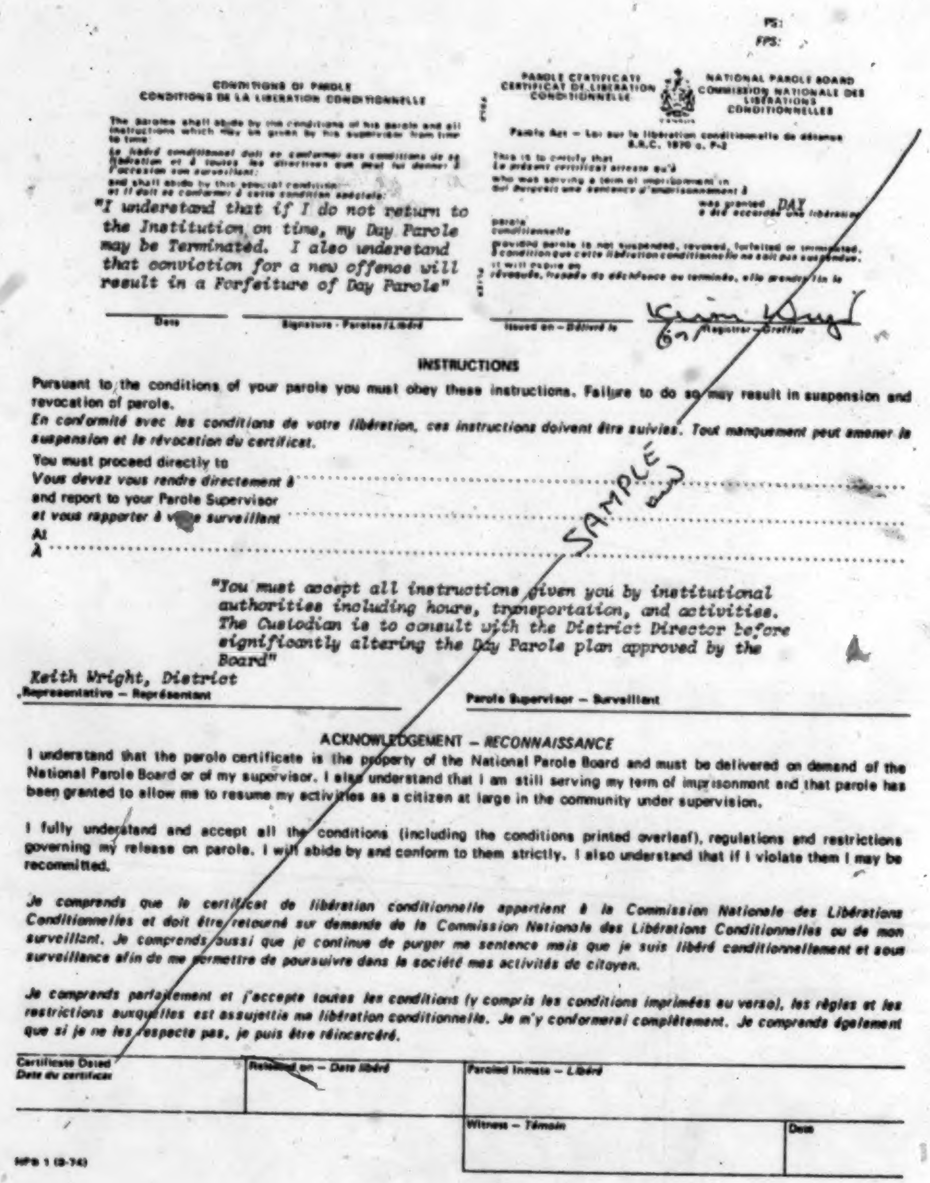
DAY PAROLE REGISTER

A.G. [illegible]

NAME	AGE	INSTITUTION NUMBER	DAY PAROLE NUMBER	DATE COMMITTED	DATE REC'D AT INST.	POSSIBLE DISCHARGE DATE	DATE DAY PAROLE AUTHORIZED	DATE OF RELEASE ON DAY PAROLE	DATE DAY PAROLE COMPLETED, TERMINATED OR SUSPENDED	TRANSFERRED TO:	REMARKS

APPENDIX VII

DAY PAROLE CERTIFICATE



FS:
FPS:

CONDITIONS OF PAROLE
CONDITIONS DE LA LIBÉRATION CONDITIONNELLE

The parolee shall abide by the conditions of his parole and all instructions which may be given by his supervisor from time to time.

Le libéré conditionnel doit se conformer aux conditions de sa libération et à toutes les directives que peut lui donner à l'occasion son surveillant:

and shall abide by this special condition:
et il doit se conformer à cette condition spéciale:

"I understand that if I do not return to the Institution on time, my Day Parole may be Terminated. I also understand that conviction for a new offence will result in a Forfeiture of Day Parole"

Date

Signature - Parolee/Libéré

PAROLE CERTIFICATE
CERTIFICAT DE LIBÉRATION CONDITIONNELLE

NATIONAL PAROLE BOARD
COMMISSION NATIONALE DES LIBÉRATIONS CONDITIONNELLES

Parole Act — Loi sur la libération conditionnelle de détenus
R.S.C. 1970 c. P-2

This is to certify that
Le présent certificat atteste qu'à

who was serving a term of imprisonment in
qui purgeait une sentence d'emprisonnement à

was granted DAY
a été accordée une libération

parole
conditionnelle

provided parole is not suspended, revoked, forfeited or terminated,
à condition que cette libération conditionnelle ne soit pas suspendue,
it will expire on
révoquée, frappée de déchéance ou terminée, elle prendra fin le

Issued on — *Délivré le*

Registrar — *Greffier*

INSTRUCTIONS

Pursuant to the conditions of your parole you must obey these instructions. Failure to do so may result in suspension and revocation of parole.

En conformité avec les conditions de votre libération, ces instructions doivent être suivies. Tout manquement peut amener la suspension et la révocation du certificat.

You must proceed directly to
Vous devez vous rendre directement à ....

and report to your Parole Supervisor
et vous rapporter à votre surveillant ....

At
À ....

SAMPLE

"You must accept all instructions given you by institutional authorities including hours, transportation, and activities. The Custodian is to consult with the District Director before significantly altering the Day Parole plan approved by the Board"

Keith Wright, District
Representative — *Représentant*

Parole Supervisor — *Surveillant*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT — ***RECONNAISSANCE***

I understand that the parole certificate is the property of the National Parole Board and must be delivered on demand of the National Parole Board or of my supervisor. I also understand that I am still serving my term of imprisonment and that parole has been granted to allow me to resume my activities as a citizen at large in the community under supervision.

I fully understand and accept all the conditions (including the conditions printed overleaf), regulations and restrictions governing my release on parole. I will abide by and conform to them strictly. I also understand that if I violate them I may be recommitted.

Je comprends que le certificat de libération conditionnelle appartient à la Commission Nationale des Libérations Conditionnelles et doit être retourné sur demande de la Commission Nationale des Libérations Conditionnelles ou de mon surveillant. Je comprends aussi que je continue de purger ma sentence mais que je suis libéré conditionnellement et sous surveillance afin de me permettre de poursuivre dans la société mes activités de citoyen.

Je comprends parfaitement et j'accepte toutes les conditions (y compris les conditions imprimées au verso), les règles et les restrictions auxquelles est assujettie ma libération conditionnelle. Je m'y conformerai complètement. Je comprends également que si je ne les respecte pas, je puis être réincarcéré.

Certificate Dated *Date du certificat*	Released on — *Date libéré*	Paroled Inmate — *Libéré*
		Witness — *Témoin* / Date

NPB 1 (3-74)

REPORTS TO POLICE – RAPPORTS À LA POLICE						VISITS TO SUPERVISOR – VISITES AU SURVEILLANT					
Initials Initiales	Date	Initials Initiales	Date	Initials Initiales	Date	Initials Initiales	Date	Initials Initiales	Date	Initials Initiales	Date

CONDITIONS OF PAROLE

1. To remain until expiry of sentence under the authority of the designated Representative of the National Parole Board.

2. To proceed forthwith directly to the area as designated in the Instructions and, immediately upon arrival report to the Parole Supervisor and after to the Police as instructed by the Supervisor.

3. To remain in the immediate designated area and not to leave this area without obtaining permission beforehand from the Representative of the National Parole Board, through the Parole Supervisor.

4. To endeavour to maintain steady employment and to report at once to the Parole Supervisor any change or termination of employment or any other change of circumstances such as accident or illness.

5. To obtain approval from the Representative of the National Parole Board, through the Parole Supervisor before:

   (a) purchasing of motor vehicle
   (b) incurring debts by borrowing money or instalment buying;
   (c) assuming additional responsibilities, such as marrying;
   (d) owning or carrying fire-arms or other weapons.

6. To communicate forthwith with the Parole Supervisor or the Representative of the National Parole Board if arrested or questioned by police regarding any offence.

7. To obey the law and fulfill all legal and social responsibilities.

CONDITIONS DE LA LIBERATION CONDITIONNELLE

1. Demeurer jusqu'à l'expiration de la sentence sous l'autorité du représentant désigné par la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles.

2. Se rendre directement et immédiatement à l'endroit spécifié dans les instructions et dès l'arrivée se rapporter au Surveillant et ensuite à la police selon les instructions du Surveillant.

3. Demeurer dans les environs immédiats tel que désigné et ne pas quitter ce territoire avant d'obtenir au préalable, par l'entremise du Surveillant, la permission du représentant de la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles.

4. S'efforcer de travailler régulièrement et faire part immédiatement au surveillant de tout changement ou cessation d'emploi ou tout autre changement de circonstances comme un accident ou la maladie.

5. Obtenir au préalable l'autorisation du représentant de la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles par l'entremise du surveillant avant de:

(a) faire l'achat d'une automobile;
(b) contracter des dettes par emprunt d'argent ou par achat à tempérament;
(c) assumer des responsabilités additionnelles comme le mariage
(d) posséder ou avoir en sa possession une arme à feu ou toute autre arme.

6. Communiquer immédiatement avec le surveillant ou le représentant de la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles si arrêté ou interrogé par un officier de police au sujet d'une offense quelconque.

7. Obéir à la loi et s'acquitter de toutes les responsabilités légales et sociales.

APPENDIX VIII

NATIVE ADMISSION RATES TO ALL ALBERTA CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS BY FISCAL YEAR

ADMISSIONS	FISCAL YEAR								
	65-66	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74
Sentenced and Committed/Remanded Categories Only	12012	17006	16414	17132	14565	12734	12195	10979	10733
Native Admissions	4964	6134	6213	6325	4568	4020	3660	3072	2888
Per Cent Native Admissions	41.3	36.1	37.9	36.9	31.2	31.6	30.0	27.9	26.9

Source: Annual Reports of the Corrections Branch, 1965-66 to 1973-74.

NATIVE ADMISSION RATE TO FORT SASKATCHEWAN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION (MALE) BY FISCAL YEAR

ADMISSION	FISCAL YEAR								
	65-66	66-67	67-68	68-69	69-70	70-71	71-72	72-73	73-74
Sentenced and Remanded/Committed Categories Only	7215	6956	5505	5392	5184	5365	5569	4944	4724
Native Admissions	1716	2075	1697	1254	1070	1213	1160	916	765
Per Cent Native Admissions	23.8	29.8	30.8	23.3	20.6	22.6	20.8	18.5	16.2

Source: Annual Reports of the Corrections Branch, 1965-66 to 1973-74.

APPENDIX IX

PRESENTATION OF PHI, THE MEASURE OF ASSOCIATION

In Chapter IV, the measure of association Phi is used to denote the strength of the relationship between variables. Each variable was dichotomized as follows:

Age - (1) up to 25 years; (2) 25 years and older

Racial Origin - (1) White; (2) Native

Sentence Length - (1) up to 1 year; (2) 1 year and over

Year of Participation - (1) 1969-72; (2) 1973-74

Day Parole Length - (1) up to 2 months; (2) 2 months and over

Use of Day Parole (Activity) - (1) Work; (2) Education

Earnings - (1) up to \$500; (2) \$500 and over

Termination - (1) success; (2) failure

The following presentation parallels the discussion in Chapter IV.

Age by Year - Phi = .12

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .12; (2) Phi = .14

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .13;
(2) Phi = .09

Race by Year - Phi = .004

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .02; (2) Phi = .005

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .01;
(2) Phi = .04

Race by Age - Phi = .08

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .09; (2) Phi = .07

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .05
(2) Phi = .13

Length of Sentence by Year - Phi = .05

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .03; (2) Phi = .07

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .04; (2) Phi = .10

Sentence Length by Age - Phi = .07

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .11; (2) Phi = .02

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .04

Sentence Length by Race - Phi = .06

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .002

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .03

Day Parole Length by Sentence Length - Phi = .21

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .19; (2) Phi = .23

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .21; (2) Phi = .20

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .21; (2) Phi = .21

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .19; (2) Phi = .26

Day Parole Length and Age - Phi = .19

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .20
(2) Phi = .15

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .23; (2) Phi = .09

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .17 (2) Phi = .11

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .14; (2) Phi = .09

Day Parole Length by Race - Phi = .08

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .06;
(2) Phi = .07

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .02

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .12; (2) Phi = .03

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .09; (2) Phi = .12

Day Parole Length by Year - Phi = .09

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .08;
(2) Phi = .08

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .03; (2) Phi = .17

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .05; (2) Phi = .16

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .13; (2) Phi = .03

Use of Day Parole by Year - Phi = .16

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .20; (2) Phi = .14

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .15; (2) Phi = .13

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .15;
(2) Phi = .18

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .11;
(2) Phi = .28

Use of Day Parole by Age - Phi = .21

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .19;
(2) Phi = .23

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .17;
(2) Phi = .20

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .25; (2) Phi = .18

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .20; (2) Phi = .09

Use of Day Parole and Race - Phi = .08

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .07

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .10; (2) Phi = .03

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .10;
(2) Phi = .03

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .11;
(2) Phi = .01

Use of Day Parole and Day Parole Length - Phi = .25

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .24; (2) Phi = .15

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .19; (2) Phi = .33

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .32; (2) Phi = .16

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .22;
(2) Phi = .27

Use of Day Parole and Sentence Length - Phi = .04

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .05; (2) Phi = .02

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .03;
(2) Phi = .002

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .04; (2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = 0.0; (2) Phi = .08

Termination by Year - Phi = .01

Controlling for age - (1) Phi = .02; (2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .07; (2) Phi = .08

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .02;
(2) Phi = .002

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .02;
(2) Phi = .02

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .03; (2) Phi = .01

Termination by Age - Phi = .02

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .03; (2) Phi = .03

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .06;
(2) Phi = .06

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .04; (2) Phi = .01

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .06;
(2) Phi = .01

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .01; (2) Phi = .11

Termination by Race - Phi = 0.0

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = 0.0; (2) Phi = .01

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .003; (2) Phi = .003

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .03;
(2) Phi = .002

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .05;
(2) Phi = .06

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .03; (2) Phi = .20

Termination by Sentence Length - Phi = .08

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .07; (2) Phi = .09

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .11; (2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .12; (2) Phi = .01

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .003;
(2) Phi = .11

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .08; (2) Phi = .08

Termination by Day Parole Length - Phi = .18

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .20; (2) Phi = .16

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .20; (2) Phi = .18

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .11;
(2) Phi = .23

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .18; (2) Phi = .19

Controlling for Activity - (1) Phi = .20; (2) Phi = .18

Termination and Activity - Phi = .01

Controlling for Sentence Length - (1) Phi = .01;
(2) Phi = .01

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .02; (2) Phi = .002

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .01; (2) Phi = .08

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .01; (2) Phi = .18

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .03;
(2) Phi = .05

Earnings by Age - Phi = .03

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .05;
(2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .04; (2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .01; (2) Phi = .04

Earnings by Year - Phi = .24

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .19;
(2) Phi = .23

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .21; (2) Phi = .28

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .21; (2) Phi = .37

Earnings by Race - Phi = .11

Controlling for Day Parole Length - (1) Phi = .10
(2) Phi = .04

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi - .10; (2) Phi = .13

Controlling for Year - (1) Phi = .19; (2) Phi = .06

Earnings by Day Parole Length - Phi = .45

Controlling for Race - (1) Phi = .46; (2) Phi = .50

Controlling for Year (1) Phi = .42; (2) Phi = .46

Controlling for Age - (1) Phi = .47; (2) Phi = .41

APPENDIX X

EPILOGUE

The Day Parole Program described in this Study has undergone drastic changes since the data was collected in 1975. By the end of that year, the Alberta Correctional Services had developed its own Temporary Absence Program not unlike those in British Columbia and Ontario. Inmates on Employment or Education Temporary Absences can live in correctional facilities or in the community. No longer is Belmont the main Day Parole Center in the Province. Other institutions are now making more use of Temporary Absences than ever before. By September, 1976, the Edmonton Parole Service had only one Day Parolee from a Provincial Institution under its jurisdiction. The entire correctional institution portion of Alberta Correctional Services has been reorganized to where the social service and programming aspects of institutional services have received unprecedented support from correctional administrators. Indeed, the changes that have taken place in Alberta corrections in the part three years represent a drastic department from "the way things used to be".

This Study dealt with Alberta's first Day Parole/ Temporary Absence Program. In many ways, the Program does not exist any longer. It has been replaced by a new Program. The time is ripe for another Study to look at Temporary Absence in Alberta.